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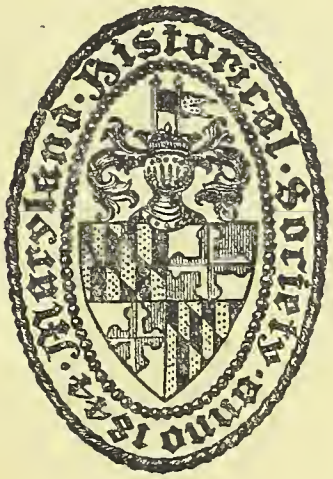



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Vol. XIV MARCH, 1919 No. 1

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LAST summer, America expected a long war. She prepared for it, and prepared so tremendously that the knowledge of what America was doing broke the spirit of the German resistance.

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FORM OF LEGACY.

"I give and bequeath to The Maryland Historical Society the sum of ..... dollars."

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LOUIS H. DIELMAN,
Editor.



H. IRVINE KEYSER MEMORIAL BUILDINGS.

MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XIV. MARCH, 1919. No. 1.

DEDICATION OF THE H. IRVINE KEYSER MEMORIAL BUILDING

The H. Irvine Keyser Memorial Building was dedicated on February the eighteenth, nineteen hundred and nineteen, in the presence of a large and distinguished company of members and guests.

The Historical Society of the State of Minnesota was represented by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, a Corresponding Member of that Society; the New York Historical Society, by Mr. Paul Gibson Burton of this city; the Columbia Historical Society by Mr. Allen C. Clark, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by Mr. Thomas Willing Balch. Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge, the representative of the Massachusetts Historical Society, wrote regretting his inability to leave Washington at the time.

The Right Reverend John Gardiner Murray, Bishop of Maryland, in making the presentation on behalf of Mrs. Mary Washington Keyser, spoke as follows:

President Warfield, Members of the Committee, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Among the many precious privileges continually vouchsafed me, that which I this moment enjoy is supreme.

We have assembled to open these stately buildings as a memo-

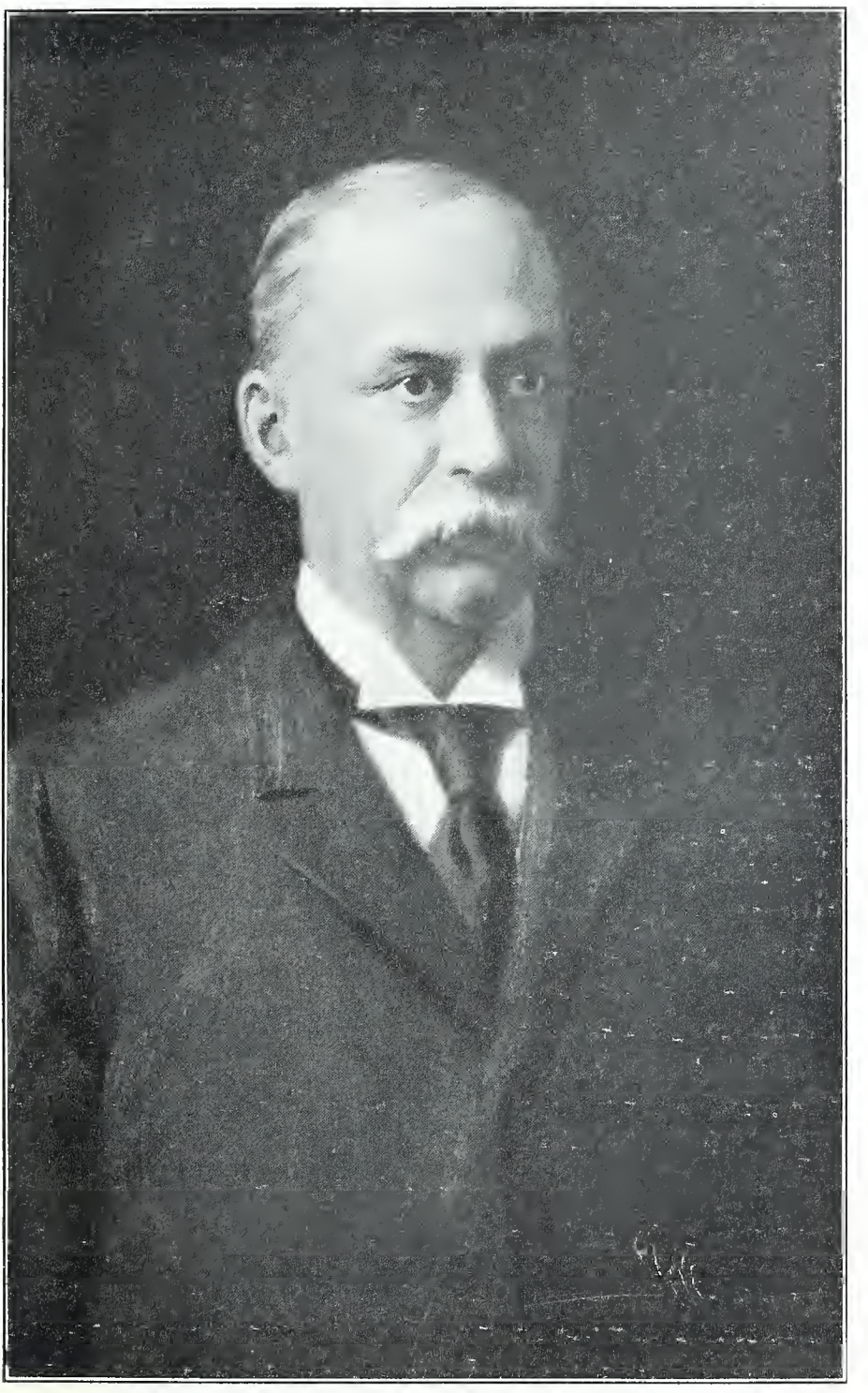
rial to the life work of Mr. H. Irvine Keyser, and to dedicate them as the home of the Maryland Historical Society. It is an auspicious occasion with a timely purpose.

As the representative of Mr. Keyser's family in publicly consummating the presentation of this gift to the Society, and through the Society to the City of Baltimore and the State of Maryland, I desire first to quote what Mrs. Keyser has had inscribed on the tablet at its entrance:

THIS SITE AND THESE BUILDINGS
WERE PRESENTED TO
THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
AS A MEMORIAL TO MY HUSBAND
H. IRVINE KEYSER
OF BALTIMORE
OBIT MAY 7, 1916
A MEMBER OF THIS SOCIETY
1873 TO 1916

Then I must respect what I feel would be the wish and honor what would be the will of my deceased friend, who was a man of few words but many works, were he here in person to express the one and exercise the other. "Crescite et Multiplicamini," the motto of Maryland written over the entrance to the Library Building of this Memorial group, will serve not only for the inspiration of the Society itself, but also as a legitimate expression of the accomplishment of him who for forty-three years was one of its most interested members. But "Multum in Parvo" must characterize our present portrayal of that accomplishment in words.

And so, Mr. President, let me briefly say, for preservation in the Archives of the Maryland Historical Society in the record you shall make of these opening exercises, that in all the relationships of the three Institutions—Home, Church, and State—which together comprise every activity of human life, the conduct of H. Irvine Keyser was always that of a man with splendid vision, of proper perspective, and constructive endeavor.



H. IRVINE KEYSER.

(From portrait by Thomas C. Corner.)

He was an intelligent, accomplished actor on the stage of all honorable human affairs. Nothing was foreign to him that was native to his fellow man.

"Kindly affectioned," he was given to hospitality and contributed to all legitimate necessity. He found pleasure in proper social diversion, and at the time of his death was second eldest living member of the Maryland Club. "Not slothful in business," he was ever interested in the welfare of youthful beginners, and many successful men in our community today owe their start in life to him, and received subsequent instruction and encouragement from him, when they were passing through the sifting processes that try young men's souls and demonstrate the stuff and fibre of their manhood.

Patriotic in purpose and consistent in practice, he was always on the side of political integrity, and measured up fully to every responsibility of good citizenship.

"Fervent in Spirit," his service for the Lord was unostentatious, natural and practical. Believing that the "fear of the Lord" grew out of the "instruction of wisdom," he was interested and active in educational affairs. As a member of the Board of Trustees of the Gilman Country School from 1897 to 1909, and Vice-President for ten years of that time, he largely directed the policy of the School, and strongly influenced his associates on the Board in his advocacy of sane treatment of all educational questions in contrast with visionary fancies and fads.

In his Church relationship, the diocese of Maryland owes much to Mr. Keyser in many different departments. In his own parish he was a devout communicant, and most efficient and faithful in the discharge of his duties as a vestryman. In diocesan affairs he filled positions of responsibility and was a wise counsellor and progressive leader. Being a member of the Diocesan Committee of Missions for six years, he was in close touch with the missionary work of the whole diocese and was ever ready to contribute of his time, means and talent for its successful prosecution. As one of the original Trustees of the Cathedral Foundation, humanly speaking, it was due him more than

anyone else that this great Community Christian enterprise was inaugurated. At its very inception the clearness of his vision dispelled all doubts, and by his generous provision the site which enabled the project to take complete form was secured. His suggestions from time to time were helpful and encouraging, and his ideas were so uniformly practical that they were ever received with favor by the other trustees and inspired them to persevering endeavor.

His wise, patient and persistent efforts in all these different relationships of life naturally and logically developed in him a strong stalwart manhood, well rounded, satisfactory and satisfying, for the accomplishment of that legitimate work which represents in its best sense the full purpose of God concerning man, who is not only the creature of His hand to illustrate His power, but also the child of His love to do His will.

We thank God for the example of his life and take fresh courage in our endeavor to be honest, pure and manly as was he.

It is eminently proper that to such a man in any community there should be erected a memorial monument of earthly material. It is still more proper that such a memorial monument should be like this one—a medium of service for Community and State. But the supreme memorial monument for such a man is the perpetuation of his influence for good, in the community in which he was born, lived and died, through the generations to come. For the tangible realization of this supreme purpose, no material structure could have been more discriminatingly erected than these classic buildings, and no intellectual agency more wisely chosen than this distinctive and distinguished Society which is now entitled to designate this place by that most sacred word in any language—Home. What human love has thus offered and human wisdom provided may Divine love sanction and Divine power use.

Let us Pray.

O Almighty God, with whom do live the spirits of those who depart hence in the Lord, and with whom the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in

joy and felicity; We give thee hearty thanks for the good examples of all those thy servants who, having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labours. Especially do we praise thee for the life of H. Irvine Keyser, with its blessed memory of work well done for the welfare of humanity and thy glory, beseeching thee, that we, with him and all those who are departed in the true faith of thy holy Name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in thy eternal and everlasting glory; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Blessed be thy Name, O Lord, that it hath pleased thee to put into the heart of thy servant to give and dedicate these buildings, as an expression of her love for the departed, and for the use of humanity in the days present and years to come. Accept, we pray thee, this offering of thy servant, and let thy blessing so rest upon it, that it may serve the purpose for which it is intended. Grant that in it and through it brotherly love and true fellowship may ever abound, and the members of the Maryland Historical Society so encourage one another in every proper and patriotic work that not only they, but also all others who shall come under their influence, may so contribute to the purity of the Home, the integrity of the State and the piety of the Church, that human life shall be exalted and thy divine glory enthroned; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O Lord, our Heavenly Father, the high and mighty Ruler of the universe, who dost from thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth; most heartily we beseech thee with thy favour to behold and bless thy servants the President of the United States, the Governor of this State, the Mayor of this City, and all others in Authority. And as for them so do we pray thee for ourselves, thy people everywhere, our Senate and Representatives in Congress assembled, and the members of the World Peace Congress now in session; that thou wouldst be pleased to direct and prosper all our consultations, to the advancement of thy glory, the good of thy Church, the safety, honour and welfare of the world;

that all things may be so ordered and settled by our endeavours, upon the best and surest foundations, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established among us for all generations; through Jesus Christ our Lord, who hath taught when we pray to say:

Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven. Give us thy day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil; for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

President Edwin Warfield, in accepting the gift, said:

I have the honor, and esteem it a very great privilege, Bishop Murray, to accept through you these splendidly equipped buildings, the H. Irvine Keyser Memorial, as a gift from Mrs. Mary Washington Keyser to the Maryland Historical Society, for its future home.

Mrs. Keyser by deed dated December 17th, 1917, conveyed to the Society the Pratt residence and adjoining lot, with the understanding that she would erect on said lot a building containing rooms furnished with modern fire-proof equipment, in which to house the valuable books, documents, priceless manuscripts and historic data owned by the Society, and a Gallery in which to exhibit our historic paintings and portraits. This gift was made by Mrs. Keyser as a memorial to her husband, Mr. H. Irvine Keyser, who was an honored member of the Society for nearly half a century. The Society then gratefully accepted the property and left to Mrs. Keyser the sole supervision of all improvements and the approval of all plans for the building. The consummation of her skillful and intelligent direction we see here tonight. Now our valuable collections are safe from destruction by fire.

You, Bishop Murray, have in dignified and feeling language set forth the activities of Mr. Keyser during his life and his high ideals, his public spirit and his services for the welfare of

humanity and this community. We will preserve in an enduring form your address so that it may be an inspiration to our members.

This is truly a fitting and enduring memorial to a most worthy citizen of this State. We feel deep and sincere gratitude to Mrs. Keyser for her splendid gift. It will enable the Society to increase and multiply its historic activities and patriotic work, and thus inure to the glory of our state.

President Warfield then presented His Excellency Emerson C. Harrington, Governor of Maryland, who spoke on "The Society as the Custodian and Publisher of the Archives of Maryland":

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The presentation of this fine building to the Maryland Historical Society excites in the heart of every true Marylander the strongest feelings of gratitude and appreciation at the splendid gift and at the spirit of pride and patriotism which the giver thereof must feel for this grand old Commonwealth of ours.

The great war which has but just been brought to a close has presented a splendid opportunity to the people of America to demonstrate to ourselves as well as to the world that the spirit of our illustrious fathers still lives in undiminished vigor, and that the ideals for which they fought and died are still cherished and revered in every quarter, not only of the thirteen original Colonies or States, but in every section of this great country of ours.

But we do feel, sir, that Maryland from the manner of her settlement and foundation and from the part which our forebears took in the early struggles of our country for independence and for the foundation of our Government is privileged to be proud of our traditions and proud of our history.

No one can ever take away from us the just fame of our colony as a sanctuary, as the first place in the whole world where true civil and religious liberty was proclaimed and practiced.

The Battles of Long Island, Camden, Guilford Court House and Eutaw Springs attest the gallantry and bravery of Maryland officers and Maryland men.

A Maryland man, Thomas Johnson, had the honor of nominating General Washington as the Commander-in-Chief of the Continental forces, and a Maryland man, Colonel Tench Tilghman, had the honor as Washington's aide to carry the news of Cornwallis' surrender to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia and to stand with the immortal Lafayette by Washington's side when in the old Senate Chamber at Annapolis, General Washington gave back his commission to the Continental Congress there assembled and retired to private life.

The honor is Maryland's to have given to the country the land where is located the Capital of the country, and it was upon Maryland's motion that all of the Northwestern territory out of which so many States have been carved was ceded to the National Government.

And then again, in the War of 1812, when the citizen soldiery of Baltimore City had successfully turned the tide of war, a distinguished Maryland citizen amid the shot and shell of battle looking out upon our flag as it waved above Fort McHenry, gave birth to the "Star-Spangled Banner," our National Anthem. We are likewise proud of our own State Anthem, "Maryland, My Maryland," recognized throughout our country almost as a National Anthem.

And then in the old State House at Annapolis the flag known as "Old Glory" which was carried by Maryland troops in the battles of the Revolution, is the oldest if not the only Revolutionary flag extant. And it is a matter of no small pride that in the beginning of the present war, it was a Maryland man, Wm. Tyler Page, who gave us the American Creed.

I am aware it would take me too long to attempt to recount the brave deeds of our ancestors, and when the United States entered the world war, there was never a question as to where Maryland would stand. We quickly filled our National Guard with volunteers and while I am sure that no one will misunder-

stand me because I stood behind the Selective Draft, yet I want to pause to pay a tribute to our National Guard and to those red-blooded boys of ours who needed but the call of our country to offer their services during the war. I am proud of the part played by our officers and our men. I am proud of that notable band of distinguished physicians of Maryland, every one of them offering their services to the Government, and some of them being called upon both at Washington and on the battle front to be the very heads of their respective departments. I am proud of the men called from Maryland into the Railroad service of the country, proud of our Draft Boards, our Medical Advisory Boards, of the Legal Advisory Boards, all of those who took part in placing Maryland over the top in all their drives, Liberty Loan drives, Red Cross drives, and in fact of all the war activities of the State. When the history of this war shall have been correctly reported I am confident that Maryland will occupy an honorable place in the galaxy of the forty-eight States of this Union. We have been already at work getting the data which will furnish correct information for the future historians to write up Maryland's part in this war. The Government is likewise arranging to have the history of this war as a whole, as well as the history of each State properly written up, and all the data which they gather and all the data which our people gather will be given to the State to be handed over to the Maryland Historical Society for safe keeping to become a part of the archives of the State. We want the Maryland data to be fair and complete. We want to make sure that here with this Society will be the facts and data which will ever be preserved where our children and our children's children may be able to know what part their forebears or ancestors took in the greatest war and for the highest ideals for which our Nation or mankind ever waged war. And in this hour of our victory and in this hour of our rejoicing it touches us deeply to know that a Maryland woman has been inspired to give this grand memorial for the service of the State, and I now, on behalf of the people of the whole State, wish to express our gratefulness and our high

appreciation of this magnificent gift and tribute, so splendid a building, for the use of the Maryland Historical Society. I am confident we shall all want to be recorded here, and again, on behalf of ourselves and of our descendants yet unborn, I wish to express the great debt which the people of our State will ever owe to Mrs. Mary Washington Keyser, your and the State's benefactress here tonight.

I cannot conceive of any higher memorial or tribute that she could offer to her distinguished husband, than such a memorial as this, that will be a constant reminder to the people of our State of her kindness and generosity.

The President then presented Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, who delivered the following address on "Maryland History and the Maryland Historical Society":

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

In 1608, a three-ton barge left Jamestown to explore the waters of the Chesapeake, and Maryland History began. Verrazzano may have trodden the soil of the State; Indian tribes had lived here for long centuries, but, with the advent of Captain John Smith and his little crew, began the continuous history of this part of the world. Down the Susquehanna from the North, the Indians brought their furs, and to trade for these, a Virginian, William Claiborne, established a factory upon Kent Island in 1631. A shrewd and skilful man, Sir George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore, wearying of the cold days and barren soil of Avalon, in Newfoundland, also came hither, and, charmed with the bay and its fertile shores, successfully asked them from King Charles I, as a Province, to be granted him with the broad powers of a palatinate. Courtier as Calvert was, he gave his new possession the name of the English Queen, Henrietta Maria, the daughter of Henry IV of Navarre, and the Terra Mariae of the Latin charter, being translated, became Maryland. The first Lord Baltimore sickened and died, before

the charter passed the seals, and his son, Cecil, named for the great Lord Burghley, his father's chief, became the first Lord Proprietary. A wise and cool-headed business man, professing the Roman Catholic faith, he had a great territory to develop, and he desired to benefit those who believed with him. He was landlord and ruler of a wide domain, which he was destined never to visit, and for which he needed colonists. From the first, therefore, he established grants of land upon liberal terms, and gave free exercise of religion for all Christians. His brother, Leonard Calvert, sent with the Ark and the Dove—vessels of well-omened name—began the Colony on March 25, 1634, Our Lady's Day. It was the beginning of the New Year in those days, and it was the commencement of spring. Vicissitudes followed; the Province was thrice wrested from Proprietary rule; the original religious toleration was succeeded by an established Protestant Church; but, at the end of the first century of Provincial History, we find the Proprietary rule again restored. The settlers, dwelling, with their indentured servants and negro slaves, on their plantations, which were stretched along the shores of the bay and its tributary rivers, had taken little time to think of their history. In 1727, there came as Governor a gentle, scholarly man, a friend of Hearne, the antiquary, Benedict Leonard Calvert, the brother of Charles Lord Baltimore, Fifth Proprietary. He had made the grand tour of Europe, and, although too soon cut off by the dread disease—consumption—in the few years of his governorship, he gathered around him our first literary circle. William Parks had his printing press at Annapolis and John Peter Zenger was at Chestertown. R. Lewis, master of King William School, was editing and translating Latin poetry, and Eben Cook, Poet Laureat, was composing the Hudibrastic "Sot Weed Factor." It was an important epoch in Maryland history for many reasons. Then was passed the act establishing the town of Baltimore, and, if Governor Calvert had crossed Parr's Ridge into the valley of the Monocacy, he would have seen there

the vanguard of the German-speaking immigrants whose settlement of Western Maryland had such important results. At the first session of the Assembly under his governorship, Calvert found that a Commission had already been appointed to "inspect and amend the ill condition of our public records" and recommended a "Separate repository for the old records" to "secure us from a total loss of all, in case of fire or other unavoidable accident."

The years of the Provincial Period passed by. In the French and Indian War, the Colonies, for a first time, perceived a common peril from a foreign foe, and soon afterwards, they felt another foe to their liberty—in their mother country. The first historical research in the Province was that of lawyers, who, throughout the eighteenth century, were searching English history, and the manuscript records of the Province, in the endeavor to prove that Marylanders possessed the rights of Englishmen, that English Statutes extended to Maryland, that the British Parliament had no right to tax the Provincials, that the Governor of the Province had no right to fix fees by proclamation. Together with the lawyers, such as Daniel Dulany, must be mentioned a clergyman, Rev. Thomas Bacon, whose edition of Maryland laws, printed at Annapolis, was not only the noblest product of any printing press in British North America, but, by its thoroughness, and accuracy, has set a standard for Maryland investigators to follow, and put all subsequent students in his debt.

The stirring years of the Revolutionary War, in which Maryland regretfully everthrew the rule of the Proprietary and the King, and stepped forth as a sovereign State, were times when men acted, rather than wrote, history, and so, in the following years, when the Articles of Confederation and perpetual union were being made more perfect through the establishment of a National Government under the Constitution, Maryland men had their thoughts fully occupied with the events of the passing day. Not until after the nineteenth century had well begun, did

John Leeds Bozman delve among the manuscripts in Annapolis and, with marvelous skill and correctness, draw therefrom the materials which he used for his History of the Province, extending his researches, unfortunately, only until 1657. He was followed by another lawyer, John V. L. McMahon, whose constitutional view of the History of Maryland showed profound and minute research, so little appreciated by the people of the State that, in discouragement at the reception of the first volume, printed in 1831, he never completed a second one, and part of the stock of this first volume remained on the shelves of the publisher, until consumed in the great Baltimore fire of 1904.

Another lawyer, John H. B. Latrobe, fitly honored in later years by this Society, recorded that, on October 23, 1835, he was one of three, who first "proposed to get up a Historical Society in Maryland" (the other two were (Reverdy?) Johnson and (John J.) Donaldson). The proposal was somewhat premature, though two centuries had elapsed since the settlement of the Province.

Eight years later, others had taken up the idea, and, on January 27, 1844, a meeting was held at the Post Office Building on the Northeast corner of Fayette and North streets, in the rooms of the Colonization Society, of which organization Latrobe was president. At this meeting a committee was appointed to draft a Constitution for the Maryland Historical Society, on motion of Brantz Mayer, "to whose zeal and exertion," the records inform us, "the organization of the Society is mainly attributable." Mayer was then 34 years old, and had recently returned from Mexico, where he had held a diplomatic position, and had collected material for one of the best historical works ever written upon that country. The Society was at once organized, adopting a Constitution and By-Laws, which Mayer had drafted. The legislature was then in session, and on March 8, the Governor signed the "Act to incorporate the Maryland Historical Society, for the purpose of collecting, preserving, and diffusing information relating to the civil, natural, and

literary history of this State, and to American history and biography generally." The charter members were: Brantz Mayer, John P. Kennedy, John H. B. Latrobe, Robert Gilmor, John V. L. McMahon, Charles F. Mayer, Frederick William Brune, Jr., Sebastian F. Streeter, John L. Carey, George W. Dobbin, John Spear Smith, Bernard U. Campbell, William G. Lyford, Stephen Collins, Fielding Lucas, Jr., John J. Donaldson, Robert Cary Long, William A. Talbot, S. Teackle Wallis, Charles J. M. Gwinn, Joshua I. Cohen, John S. Sumner. It was a remarkable list of the most prominent citizens of Baltimore, and the devotion of these men to the interests of the Society may be seen from the fact that the first four presidents thereof, who served it for the whole of its first half-century, were among the incorporators. For some unknown reason, James Hall, J. Morrison Harris, George William Brown, and Robert Leslie, who are recorded as present at the first meeting, were not included among those named in the charter, although they were also founders of the Society. The last survivor of these was the Honorable J. Morrison Harris, who, by a peculiar fitness, was selected to deliver the address at the fiftieth anniversary of the Society's foundation.

On February 1, 1844, the permanent organization was made, by the election of the following officers: John Spear Smith, president; John V. L. McMahon, vice-president; Brantz Mayer, corresponding secretary; Sebastian F. Streeter, recording secretary; John J. Donaldson, Treasurer, and Stephen Collins, librarian. The membership was increasing, and the new Society procured a large room, adjoining that in which it had been organized, and met there from the spring of 1844, for four years, until possession was taken of the quarters on the upper floor of the Athenaeum Building, at the Northwest corner of Saratoga and St. Paul streets. About a score of years later, the Society's meetings began to be held in the large central room on the lower floor, a dignified and spacious apartment, left only now, after some fifty years of occupancy, for the building where we meet tonight.

General John Spear Smith, the first President, was a son of General Samuel Smith, and had been one of his father's aides in the defense of Baltimore in 1814. He had later served as Chargé d'affaires in London, and was long Chief Judge of the Orphans' Court. A dignified, courtly gentleman, he spent much time in the Society's rooms and did the honors to visitors. By annual reëlection he was continued in the Presidency until his death in 1866.

The Society having been organized, chartered, and provided with an abiding place, it introduced itself to the people of the State (for the founders entertained the hope of a chapter in each county) by having delivered a "First Discourse," by Charles F. Mayer, on June 20, 1844. This address was printed by the Society, and heads a list of some fifteen pages of titles of books and pamphlets bearing the Society's imprint, recorded in the Report of the American Historical Association for 1905—so prolific has been the activity of the organization. Mr. Mayer discussed the Province's history, and said that: "To illustrate Maryland in all her merits, by gathering and cherishing materials for her frank and ample chronicles, is the office of the Society that has honored me as its representative before the people of Maryland. We all must feel solicitous to award to her her appropriate rank in the civilized world, and especially among the States who have, by arduous toil and patient energy, achieved their eminence. . . . The Society proposes to invite, as to their genial and improving home, all the details and remembrances of the past days of Maryland, that, from her infancy to indefinite futurity, she may live in the eyes and to the generous pride and the rich instruction of her sons. Our friends of the Maryland Historical Society . . . are the wardens of Maryland's Historic lore and the Ministers of her fame. As such, they may claim to be cherished by the people of Maryland. Let them be cheered and aided in unfolding her and keeping her unveiled in all her importance and capacities, that, knowing her well and better, we may value and cultivate her resources and keep unsullied her name."

The Society next proceeded to take three important forward steps. First, it began to collect a library of books and manuscripts, a gallery of works of art, and a museum of historical objects. The second step was to prepare to erect a building for a permanent home. The venerable Baltimore Library Company had been organized in 1796, and was the first Public Library to be established in the city. At this time, Brantz Mayer was its President. It was easy for the two Societies, which had so many leaders in common, to join forces in this matter. Within a year of the beginning of our Society's life, a plan of operation was being considered, and in February, 1845, a circular was issued, calling for public subscriptions toward such a building as a free gift to the two organizations. It was decided to call the edifice the Athenaeum, because it was to be the abode of letters in Baltimore, and, at the December session of 1845, the General Assembly passed an act of incorporation of its trustees. Before the building was completed, the ground floor was leased to the Mercantile Library Association, which occupied it until about 1880. For a time, all Baltimore's important public libraries were under one roof. So great was the popular interest in the project that twenty of the well-to-do citizens subscribed $500 each, and, within the year, $45,000 had been given and expended in the purchase of the lot, and the erection of the building. The architect of the Athenaeum was Robert Cary Long, one of the charter members of the Society, and the fine proportions of the structure do him great credit, and have long been among the ornaments of the city. The formal dedication occurred on October 23, 1848, with an address by Brantz Mayer, entitled: "Commerce, Literature, and Art." The orator emphasized the fact that the donors were mostly commercial men who had freely given the building to literature, history, and art, and spoke of the usefulness of the Society's library, as a place "into which the honest and industrious student may freely come, and carefully collate the discordant materials that have been accumulated, with commendable industry for future use." It has been one of the glories of the

Society, from that time to this, that its collections have been used for research by historical students.

The third step of importance, taken very early in the history of the Society, was the establishment of such relations with the State that documents might be deposited in our safe keeping which could be more accessible and more securely guarded here than in Annapolis. David Ridgely, the patient antiquary, as State Librarian, had made report to the General Assembly in 1835 concerning manuscript materials in the public offices, and by Resolution of the legislature, passed at its session of December, 1846, a considerable number of these manuscripts were placed in the custody of the Society.

In the Athenaeum Building, the Society led a prosperous life for many years. Large additions came to its collections. the Gilmor Papers, which included many from Governor Horatio Sharpe; the papers of General Mordecai Gist, the Towson collection of coins, the index to Maryland records in the State Paper Office, London (given by George Peabody)—all these and many more had been accumulated, when the Society published its Catalogue in 1854. An annual historical address was delivered by one of the Society's members, an Annual Exhibition of paintings was held and soirees and dinners were given, occasionally, with the generous refreshments for which Baltimore was famous. The Baltimore Library Company went out of existence in 1852, transferring all its books and its interest in the Athenaeum Building to the Society. George Peabody was so impressed with the work of the Society that he intended at first to make it the centre about which should be built his Institute; but, when difficulties arose in the carrying out of that project, he determined that the Institute should be an independent organization, while he gave the Society an endowment fund of $20,000, the income of half of which should be used for the purposes of publication. This Publication Fund, from 1867 to 1901, paid for thirty-seven distinct publications and has been used of recent years toward meeting the expenses of the Society's magazine.

Then came the Civil War, and, while interest in the Society naturally fell off, the meetings were kept up, although attended by only eight or ten members. After the return of peace, the Society resumed its formal gatherings, and in 1866 Dr. Lewis H. Steiner spoke upon the U. S. Sanitary Commission, and the Hon. Wm. F. Giles on Col. John Eager Howard.

Shortly after peace came, General Smith died and Brantz Mayer was elected as the second President, in 1867. In 1871, his duties as an officer in the army caused him to remove to California, whence he later returned to Baltimore, where he died in 1878.

Upon Mr. Mayer's removal, John H. B. Latrobe became the third President and continued to serve as such until his death in 1891. A man of wonderful memory, of a wide experience of life, and of fine powers of description, when there was no paper appointed to be read, he would entertain the members present at meetings with his recollections of men of past days, especially of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, whom, in youth, he had known well.

In 1860, John H. Alexander had sent a report to the Governor of the State "on certain documents touching the provincial history of Maryland," in which report he recited how he had secured the compilation of these documents by Rev. Dr. Ethan Allen and called attention to the imperative need of taking greater care of them. Nothing was done then; but, in 1866, and again in 1878, Brantz Mayer brought the matter to the attention of the State authorities. Interest grew and, finally, the General Assembly at its session in 1882, passed the first act which provided for the publication of the Archives of Maryland. An annual appropriation of $2,000 was made for that purpose, which appropriation has continued until this day, making possible the printing of thirty-eight large octavo volumes, containing the Proceedings of the Provincial Council, the Proceedings and Acts of the Provincial Assembly, the Correspondence of Gov. Horatio Sharpe, the Proceedings of the Provincial Court, the Proceedings of the Revolutionary Council,

and the Muster Rolls of Revolutionary Soldiers. The series has added much to the reputation of the Society and to the knowledge of the Provincial and Revolutionary History. The editor of thirty-one of the thirty-eight volumes was the courteous and careful historical student, Dr. Wm. Hand Browne, to whose work much of the success of the series is due. When he died, Clayton C. Hall, Esq., took up the work with equal accuracy, but his life ended so soon that his name appeared on the title page of only three volumes. The present editor has seen four volumes through the press.

In order to make the manuscripts at Annapolis available for the preparation of the Archives, the Act of 1882 provided that "any and all public officers" in whose possession might be any "records, archives, and ancient documents of the Province and State of Maryland, of any date prior to the acknowledgement of the independence of the United States by Great Britain," may transfer these manuscripts to the Maryland Historical Society, as their custodian. The Society shall "agree that such records and documents shall be safely kept, properly arranged and catalogued, and that such of them as are of historical importance, shall be edited and published, under the supervision of the Society, and provided that said records shall, at all times, be accessible to the inspection of the people of this State, free of all charges and fees."

From the Commissioner of the Land Office, from the Clerk of the Court of Appeals, and later from the Secretary of State have been received great numbers of books and papers, for whose safe keeping a fire-proof room was provided in the Athenaeum. These records are now all safe here in the new fire-proof Library building.

In the late seventies, the Library of the Maryland Historical Society became the place where the Historical Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University began its sessions under the direction of Austin Scott and later of that inspiring teacher, Herbert B. Adams. It is a pleasant reflection that the Society gave its first home to that department, from the researches of whose

students so many advances in historical knowledge have come.

In 1887, through the initiative of Mr. Mendes Cohen, then Corresponding Secretary of the Society, negotiations were begun with Col. Frederick Henry Harford of Down Place, near Windsor, England, a grandson of Henry Harford, the last Lord Proprietary, through which negotiations the Society, by the liberality of some of its members, became the possessor of an extremely valuable collection of Calvert Papers, comprising all the extant documents relating to Maryland from the collection made by the Lords Proprietary. This collection of papers was formally presented to the Society, at its meeting on December 10, 1888, and portions of the collection have since been printed. It is a pleasant reminiscence of the speaker that my first appearance at a meeting of the Society was upon this occasion, when my father brought me, a graduate student under Professor Adams, to listen to the exercises attending this presentation. It was my privilege, a few months later, to read my first paper before the Society, Mr. Latrobe presiding at the meeting. Mr. Latrobe died on September 11, 1891, and special exercises in his memory were held a month later. His versatility, his ability as a lawyer, and his philanthropic interest in negro colonization have recently been recounted in his biography, written by one of our members, John E. Semmes, Esq.

Hon. S. Teackle Wallis, *clarum et venerable nomen,* eminent as a lawyer, fearless, upright, and a ripe scholar, was elected as the fourth President in 1892, and continued in that position until his death on April 12, 1894. His ill health prevented him from attendance at the meetings over which Mr. Vice-President Henry Stockbridge, Sr., usually presided with dignity, but it was felt by the members that his name as President gave lustre to the Society. During this period, the semi-centennial of the organization of the Society was observed with an address by the Hon. J. Morrison Harris, the last survivor of the founders.

The fifth presidency lasted for even a shorter period than the fourth. At the election of February, 1895, Rev. John G.

Morris, D. D., was chosen to that office. At the meeting held on November 14, 1893, the Society had already recognized the ninetieth birthday of Dr. Morris, then one of the Vice-Presidents. He was the son of a Revolutionary soldier, the surgeon of Armand's Partisan Legion, and was a Lutheran clergyman of wide repute, having written many works of a religious or historical character. Having been the first Librarian of the Peabody Institute, he was induced to become the honorary librarian of the Society in 1891 and to accept that Presidency also, as Mr. Wallis' successor.

In April, 1895, I took two young librarians from Philadelphia to see the Society's rooms and to meet Dr. Morris. A few days later he came into my office to ask the names and addresses of my friends, as he intended to deliver an address in Philadelphia shortly and wished to return their call. He died on October 12, 1895; but his vigor was such that, within a fortnight of that time, he wrote me in reference to a book upon the microscope, as he expected to pursue some researches with that instrument during the coming winter. His large form and bluff, frank manner will long be remembered.

At the election of officers in 1896, Hon. Albert Ritchie was advanced from the Vice-Presidency to the Presidential office. He was a Judge of the Baltimore Supreme Bench, a man of strikingly handsome features and fine presence, possessing an almost imperturbable urbanity as a presiding officer, and showing a genial courtesy to all. During his presidency, the Society went outside the limits of the State in its desire to honor Marylanders and erected a monument to the Maryland Line of the Continental Army on the Guilford Court House battlefield in North Carolina. Judge Ritchie died on September 14, 1903, and, at the succeeding election of officers, Mr. Mendes Cohen was advanced from the corresponding secretaryship to the presidency. Mr. Cohen was a remarkable man, reminding one of the ancient Romans. After a distinguished career as a civil engineer, he had retired from active practice of his profession and devoted much time to the Society's interests. Shortly after

he took up the presidential office, a revision of the Constitution established the Council, which has relieved the Society's meetings of much of the detail of business. The *Maryland Historical Magazine,* at first under the scholarly editorship of Dr. William Hand Browne and, latterly, under the wise and skilful conduct of Mr. Louis H. Dielman, was established in 1906, its publication being made possible by the gift of a considerable guaranty fund from the members. This quarterly periodical has been of great value, not only as a medium between the Society and its members, but also because it has contained many papers read before its meetings and many valuable historical sources which otherwise would not have seen the light.

Mr. Cohen died on August 13, 1915, and at the memorial exercises held by the Society, Judge Henry Stockbridge paid him a fitting tribute, speaking of his "painstaking accuracy, even in matters of small detail," of "his wide and varied experience, his extended knowledge and scientific attainments," which "had served to develop a broad scholar of ripened judgment, and a thorough gentleman."

As his successor and, in accordance with his wishes, in 1913, the Society chose as its executive officer its present President, Gov. Edwin Warfield. His administration has been marked by a very considerable increase in membership and by the removal of the Society from the Athenaeum Building to this place.

It was my good fortune to be present at the meeting of the Society on October 9, 1916, when, to the delighted amazement of all, Mr. Douglas H. Thomas and Hon. Henry Stockbridge disclosed to us the generous purpose of Mrs. H. Irvine Keyser to buy the former residence of Enoch Pratt and present it to the Society, after building in the rear of the house a fire-proof structure, as a library and a picture gallery. The Athenaeum was not fire-proof, nor was it arranged as a modern library building is, and the prospect of a widely extended usefulness for the Society through this great gift has been one toward which every member has looked with pleasant expectancy, from that day to this, when we find ourselves happily enjoying the completed gift.

Mr. Enoch Pratt, whose residence of nearly fifty years on this spot has caused it to be filled with memories of him for many of those here present, was himself a long-time member of the Society, and our records bear his terse and characteristic reports as chairman of the finance committee.

Mr. Keyser, in whose memory these buildings and grounds were given, was a member of the Society from March 10, 1873 until his death on May 7, 1916. He was born in Baltimore on December 17, 1837, his parents being Samuel Stouffer Keyser and Elizabeth Wyman Keyser. He was educated at St. Timothy's School, Catonsville, and in 1855 entered the firm of Keyser, Troxell & Co., iron and steel merchants, of which his father was the head. After the death of his father he conducted the business together with his brother, William Keyser, under the firm name of Keyser Brothers. He served also as a director of several important banking and business institutions in Baltimore. In 1864 he married Miss Mary Washington of Jefferson county, West Virginia, a great-grandniece of George Washington. He was one of the founders of Grace Protestant Episcopal Church, and was personally active in many philanthropic organizations. These buildings are his fine and lasting memorial.

Nearly three centuries have gone since the first settlers sailed up the Potomac River and landed at St. Mary's. When we consider the wonderful development of Maryland during those centuries and what manner of men have been here; when we look forward with confident hopefulness to the continued prosperity and happiness of the people of the State in future generations; when we remember the vast mass of manuscripts and printed pages here collected to illustrate that history; and when we reflect upon what will be the result of the study of this history through the resources here provided, we can do no better than to say with Jesus, the son of Sirach: "The Lord hath wrought great glory by them, through His great power from the beginning. There be of them that have left a name behind them, that their praises might be reported. And some

there be which have no memorial. But with their seed shall continually remain a good inheritance, and their children are within the covenant. The people will tell of their wisdom, and the congregation will show forth their praise."

Through these seventy-five years, the Society has kept true to its purposes: to inspire interest in history, to collect and print materials for history, to aid and encourage those writing history. While its main field has been Maryland history, it has not narrowly limited itself, and the lists of addresses read before it show titles of papers on other portions of American history, and even on the history of the other hemispheres. In the new days of reconstruction which are to follow the great war, the Society's opportunity will be all the greater in its new buildings. There "yet remaineth much land to be possessed," many books and manuscripts to be collected, many unwritten parts of history to be studied, the accounts for many epochs to be rewritten, many men to be presented in new light by fresh biographical study. Except in the way of sources, there is no such a thing as definitive history. Rightly did the Greeks, with their fine sense of the fitness of things, place the goddess of history, Clio, among the Muses; for, while history may be a science, history always should be an art and prove herself a fit companion for Apollo. Rightly also did they represent Clio as writing, for history can never be complete. The revolving years open fresh pages in her book and the record of the past years must be restudied, over and over. Fresh discoveries in archæology, further investigations in the history of other peoples, unexpected recovery of unknown historical sources, broader knowledge of mankind, will make it necessary again and again to place in a new perspective the events of by-gone days. What a marvellous study it is! to become acquainted with men of generations gone, so as to know them better, it may be, than one knows his contemporaries. How thrilling is the contact with the very paper upon which were set down those words whose reading solves some riddle of the past!

Three-quarters of a century have gone since the foundation

of the Society, and during the intervening years work of great permanent value has been done. We entertain the hope that with improved equipment, with enlarged resources, and with increased membership, the Maryland Historical Society may make even greater progress in the years that are now to come than it has made during all the years of its honorable past.

Aristotle said man is a political animal, organizing into groups. Others have distinguished him from the rest of creation by calling him a fire-making, or a tool-forming animal. May we not call him an historical animal? For no other creature records the past of his kind. From the beginning, on skins of animals and on carvings in the rock, man has sought to leave a record of himself, so that coming generations may not only inherit the culture of their ancestors, but may also know how it was acquired. How marvellous a record it is, from the rude beginning even until now! Lord Bolingbroke was so struck by the value of this record as a guide of men that, following the thought of an ancient Greek, he called history "philosophy teaching by examples." From the experience of the past, he found that one could often forecast what would be the likely result of actions of a later date, whether these actions were performed by men or by nations. The historian should verily be a reverent man, for he beholds the long course of ages, with the rise and fall therein of puissant empires and mighty races of men. He finds that the Greeks were not wrong when they thought that overweening haughtiness and pride— ὕβρις as they called it—brought down upon a man, or a state, the wrath of the Olympian gods and led to a sure downfall. History truly teaches humility, that one should "not be high-minded but fear," since those who had too high conceit of themselves— a Charles XII, a Napoleon, a Wilhelm II—

> "Left a name at which the world grew pale,
> To point a moral, or adorn a tale."

The student of history, as its wonderful panorama unfolds before him, beholds, as from an eminence, the age-long combat

of good and evil; of man's free will, so clearly exhibited as to delight any Arminian, and as clearly governed by the sovereignty of a Higher Power as to convince any Calvinist. He finds that men for a time seem successfully to rough-hew their ends; but that, finally, their efforts are in vain, for there is a Divinity who shapes these ends, whether or not men so desire. If history has any lesson it is this, that "righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people"; and that, as Kepler, when he studied the laws of the solar system, exclaimed, "I am thinking God's thoughts after Him"; so may the historical student well say with Dr. J. W. Nevin that history is "the way of God in the world."

The President then presented Professor John M. Vincent, of the Johns Hopkins University, who spoke as follows:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

You have been hearing in brief the honorable history of this institution, and it now falls upon me to say something about the possibilities of the future. In view of the previous career of the Society it might appear to be sufficient to rely upon its past in the confidence that it would continue to live up to its acquired reputation. Such confidence I do possess, but this occasion calls for a brief review of the functions of a State Historical Society and its opportunities for greater usefulness. The exhilaration which I share with every one in the events of this hour has been condensed into a few everyday suggestions.

The duties of an historical association have been variously interpreted according to the relations of that body to the government of the state. In Wisconsin, for example, the Historical Society is closely identified with the State Library, and the managers have been able to combine the motives of the historian with the motive force of the public treasury in the acquisition of materials and the use of a noble building for their housing. As a rule, however, and notably in the older states, the historical society is a private corporation depending on the subscriptions

of its members, with now and then a modest endowment fund. It is in this class that Maryland belongs.

Originating in the desires of private citizens to perpetuate the history of the Colony and the State it now enters a new home through the munificence of one of its members. While it is a great credit to a state to support such an institution by taxation the immense value to a commonwealth of a body of citizens who are willing to contribute of their private means for the preservation of the past must not be overlooked. The larger the roll of those who periodically subscribe to the objects of this Society the more substantial will be the spirit of order and reasonable conservatism in this state.

At the same time the private society is obliged to consider the scope of its duties. Of these the first that comes to every mind is the collection and preservation of historical materials. The duty is self-evident, but I may be pardoned if I give some moments of attention to the subject, for, although the archives and safes of the Society have accumulated much valuable material, there are quantities still outside. There are family papers paying storage in safe deposit vaults which might just as well be here. In the houses of the owners there are other documents, highly thought of, but subject to the risk of fire. There are collectors who are keeping choice specimens in unsafe places. All of these are conscious, more or less, of the historical value of their possessions and there is hope that sooner or later their papers will be placed where they may be utilized by scholars. It is the business of this society to impress upon the owners of such materials the safety and convenience of these new quarters and their duty in respect to preservation. The uncertainty of fire protection in the old building may have hindered the generous impulses of some who will now make their documents available.

On the other hand, we should be as much or more concerned about the materials which the owners neglect, or do not appreciate. This will apply in some cases to public documents. If I am not mistaken there are still in various counties important

records in dangerous condition of risk and neglect. If fire, mold, dampness, or dessication fail to do their work, the rodents are always there, and the rats and mice of Maryland will with warm appreciation decorate their abodes with fine old historical tapestry. It is a matter worth serious consideration, whether an arrangement cannot be made with county or local authorities where protection is inadequate whereby the Maryland Historical Society shall be made the depository of such records as are no longer necessary to the conduct of government and of the courts. The value of this centralization to historical investigators is obvious, and even if the deposit should include a class of records occasionally needed at the present time the certainty of finding them at a given point must be apparent to the authorities and to the local student of county history. Even court houses will have accidents, and if so, how much less impressive are the safety appliances of the back offices and wood-sheds of county magistrates.

Within this range of vision lie also the papers, bills, and other communications which are stored in the attics, lofts, or cellars of private citizens of this State, who have kept these accumulations, partly because they looked old, and partly because they have never been obliged to experience the three moves which are as good as a fire. This material may not belong to the colonial period. When a document or letter bears an aged look the simplest of us are impressed by a remote date, and the paper has a chance of being kept as a relic. On the other hand the more recent things may seem to be "nothing but a lot of old letters," and in the course of time and house cleanings they meet the fate which we hope the writers escaped.

It is in this material that the social and economic history of Maryland as a state will find its illumination. That economic history has not been written except in fragments. Documents for the history of government or of wars can be had, but the account of actual and practical social conditions is yet to come. It is the papers which look commonplace, the accounts which are closed, the letters which seem ordinary, which will reveal the every day life of the past.

The Historical Society should take up for itself the task of finding and saving this class of evidence. It needs a salaried officer who can devote time to the search of the counties for valuable material which the owners do not sufficiently esteem, and to cultivate the acquaintance of those who do understand the value of their papers. This means that in addition to a librarian with an efficient force for the care of things there should be an outside secretary for the detective work I have described. Hitherto the Society has been the grateful receptacle for gifts which fell out of the sky. It has occasionally spent effort in obtaining copies of records in foreign countries. Its editors, especially the latest, have shown wonderful acuteness in tracing certain lost records to the places where they ought to have been all the time. Now is the time for an aggressive search of the State for historical material. In certain progressive western regions this is done with less history to warrant the effort. The search should not be a spasmodic campaign of a few weeks, but through a standing agency which should insure a steady flow toward this depository.

The organization of the Society is comprehensive enough for its purposes. The need is for additional forces to extend and enliven its activities. More assistants for the cataloguing, care and display of the materials now on hand; an agency for the discovery and acquisition of new; the upkeep of enlarged and modern quarters will require greater expense. It is evident that an endowment fund will be the proper and necessary way to provide for the new situation. The Council already has that matter under consideration.

The publications of the Society have been most worthy contributions to the history of the American colonies. The legislative and administrative records which fill thirty-eight volumes of Archives are used and respected by investigators everywhere. The Fund Publications contain special groups of fundamental source material thus rendered available to wide circles of serious students. In the choice of editors the Society has been fortunate, for their marked characteristic has been meticulous

care for small things, an absolutely indispensable qualification for the reproduction of manuscript texts. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the means for the publication of the Archives have been provided by the Legislature of Maryland. The Society furnished the suggestion and continues its reminders, but cannot claim credit for using its own funds. Governors, appropriation committees, and General Assemblies at large have all risen to this enlightened task, and the State is to be congratulated.

This coöperation should be fostered and expanded, for the publication of the state records is by no means complete. The limit set in the original plan was the year 1783, and the close of the colonial material is now in sight. But Maryland as a state has had a noteworthy history. It did not disappear in the federal union and lose its individuality and importance. Its situation, its commercial enterprise, its political contributions to the building of the nation have been striking. The official materials for the earlier history of its statehood should be made available to the larger public. Hence it is eminently desirable that another section of the Maryland Archives be undertaken, which at first can be limited to the period ending 1815. Some change in the scope of the publication may be necessary, but there is no question but that the Society in standing behind the enterprise will be furthering a scientifically valuable work and will meet with the patriotic approval of the citizens of Maryland.

The Maryland Historical Magazine is a dignified representative of historical work within state lines. It is a valuable repository of the less bulky materials and even of the fragments of the past. As a policy I should urge that its contents continue to be even more rigidly confined to original material. Members and subscribers ought not to expect this to enter the field of the usual monthly magazine. Speaking of historical societies in general, the papers which are read at the meetings are not, with rare exception, the things for which the files of historical magazines are consulted by later students. The original letters,

descriptions, documents, or the articles which closely follow or analyze such materials are the things which remain as a perpetual legacy and source of gratitude to the scholarly world.

Let me not disparage the reading of papers, for they are stimulating and important, as I shall say further on, but they come under a different category of activities. For a society not having unlimited means the matter of printing has its limits, and those limits should be chiefly source material. The monthly meetings already have a regular formula by which they are enabled to apply the guillotine painlessly off stage. A vote of thanks to the speaker is accompanied by a request for a copy of his manuscript for the use of the committee on publications. The committee on publications has no funds.

But it may be said that we hope some time with increased membership to have more money to spend. Shall the Society then devote itself to the popularization of Maryland history by means of the printing press? If that means the dilution of the subject from an adult to a child's size dose, let that be left to the school book writers. No kind of bookmaking is more profitable. For the general public the authors of popular short articles are gladly admitted to the newspapers. The popular book or biography will find a publisher on the expectation of profit. It is the business of a coöperative institution like this to print the fundamental material in which the ordinary publisher finds no financial return.

The Society can popularize Maryland history by placing its facilities at the disposal of writers of all degrees of seriousness. It can render assistance to every patriotic society within the borders of the State. It can encourage the labors of the investigating scholar by getting and keeping the stuff out of which history is made.

For the cultivation of the historical spirit in the rising generation there is now the best of opportunity for coöperation with the schools, so that their instruction can be supplemented by occasional contact with the real materials out of which the history of Maryland is made. Pointing out the value of these

documents will assuredly assist in the voluntary preservation with these materials in the future.

For the display of its treasures and for the utilization of its materials the Historical Society is now wonderfully equipped in its new building. It has an opportunity to be seen and to make itself felt in the education of the Commonwealth such as it never before enjoyed. It is within a few steps of the Peabody Library, one of the most distinguished reference collections in the country. With this there may be expected to be coöperation and understanding so that in the purchase of books the overlapping of fields may be avoided and the resources of both be made complementary for the use of historical readers. Situated within one hour of the Library of Congress there would seem to be little lacking in facilities for research.

These attractive halls will give new inpulse to the meetings of the Society, where the results of historical research are presented from time to time. The discussion of historical questions is essential to the life of the organization. By word of mouth the investigator can impart the results of his work with stimulating effect upon his fellows and chastening effect upon himself. With the archives close at hand, with the portraits of the ancients on the walls, and surrounded with reminders of the past, the assemblies which gather here will drink deeply of its historic atmosphere.

Finally I bring you the congratulations of the Department of History of the Johns Hopkins University. Coöperation between these forces has been the rule from the beginning. The one has placed valuable documents here on deposit, the other has opened wide its resources to aspiring investigators. With the expansion of the activities of the Society there comes an alluring prospect for American History and the advancement of sound learning.

At the conclusion of the addresses, the President invited the members and their guests to partake of a light collation.



THOMAS JOHNSON, FIRST GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MARYLAND,
AND HIS FAMILY.

THE LIFE OF THOMAS JOHNSON

EDWARD S. DELAPLAINE,
Of the Frederick Bar

[Thomas Johnson, one of the greatest sons of Maryland, died in 1819, and the Centenary of his death will occur on the 26th of next October. Despite the passing of a hundred years, there has never been written a thorough biography of this distinguished statesman. Mr. Edward S. Delaplaine, whose home is in Frederick, where Governor Johnson is buried, is now preparing a complete study of the first Governor's executive, legislative, and judicial career; and herewith are published the Introduction and the first two Chapters, presenting the Life of Johnson up to the time he first entered upon the public stage. Among the relatives of the late Governor are members of many prominent Maryland families, including the Johnsons, Dennises, Rosses, Smiths, McPhersons, and others, to whom this story of the Ancestry, Birth, and Early Life of Governor Johnson ought to be particularly interesting.—THE EDITOR.]

INTRODUCTION

It is strange, indeed, that Thomas Johnson, of Maryland, who took such an important rôle in the drama of the American Revolution, is accorded such a scanty mention in the history of the United States. Both in America and in Europe, he was recognized during the days of the struggle for independence, as one of the most prominent leaders of the American cause. The extent of his influence during the early stages of the dispute with the Mother Country was acknowledged unwittingly by a British officer in a letter to his friends in England, in which he declared with pretended scorn that they should not be alarmed by "all this noise in the Colonies," for it was nothing but "the vaporings of a young madcap named Tom Johnson." A more impartial estimate of the part Mr. Johnson played in the outbreak against the oppressions of King, Ministry, and Parliament was rendered by John Adams, when asked why it

was that so many Southern men occupied positions of influence in the War with Great Britain. "Had it not been for such men as Richard Henry Lee and Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, and Samuel Chase and Thomas Johnson, of Maryland," said Adams, "there never would have been any Revolution."

But the life of Johnson should be interesting to the people of America not only because of the importance of the rôle which he was called upon to assume during the Colonial days, the Revolution, and the early years of the Republic, but also on account of the intimate friendship that existed between him and the "Father of His Country." Warm friends from early manhood, George Washington and Thomas Johnson loved each other and admired each other's abilities; in both public and private life, in both war and in peace, their lives were closely associated in their supreme desire to serve their common country.

Born in the same year on opposite sides of the Potomac, Mr. Johnson and Col. Washington served together at Philadelphia as members of the Continental Congress; and on June 15, 1775, the Delegate from Maryland won for himself a distinction, and rendered to his country a service, by nominating Washington Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army. A year after the immortal Virginian first took command of the military forces, Mr. Johnson shared largely in the work of securing, by vote and voice, the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. Later, when the winter of '76-'77 was approaching, and General Washington began to grow alarmed at the feeble condition of his troops; his trusty friend left his seat in Congress, and repaired to Western Maryland, where he raised between 1,700 and 1,800 men, equipped them the best way he could, marched at their head in January, 1777, to Philadelphia and from thence hurried to the relief of Washington in New Jersey. Elected Governor of Maryland in February, Johnson hastened to Annapolis for his inauguration. During the next three years, in the gloomiest period of the war, Governor Johnson rendered an inestimably valuable service, in the rule of the new Commonwealth in those turbulent times and in the assistance he rendered to the Commander-in-Chief.

When the American cause ultimately triumphed, Mr. Johnson was one of the first and foremost supporters of Washington for President of the United States. The office was open for him, if he would serve; Alexander Hamilton and others had already implored him to accept. It is interesting to observe that it was the appeal of Thomas Johnson which, more than any other, attracted the attention of Woodrow Wilson when he was making his study of Washington's life, and in his *George Washington,* Wilson quotes from one of Mr. Johnson's letters on this subject, dated October 10, 1788. President Wilson, in his book, makes the following statement [1] concerning the first President's election: "The new Constitution made sure of, and a time set by Congress for the elections and the organization of a new government under it, the country turned as one man to Washington to be the first President of the United States. 'We cannot, sir, do without you,' cried Governor Johnson, of Maryland, 'and I and thousands more can explain to anybody but yourself why we cannot do without you.' To make anyone else President, it seemed to men everywhere, would be like crowning a subject while the king was by. But Washington held back, as he had held back from attending the Constitutional Convention. He doubted his civil capacity, called himself an old man, said 'it would be to forego repose and domestic enjoyment for trouble, perhaps for public obloquy.' . . . Washington of course yielded, like the simple-minded gentleman and soldier he was, when it was made thus a matter of duty. When the votes of the electors were opened in the new Congress, and it was found that they were one and all for him, he no longer doubted. He did not know how to decline such a call, and turned with all his old courage to the new task."

The elevation of Washington to the Presidency did not withdraw in any measure the intimacy which existed between him and the ex-Governor. Mr. Johnson often visited Mount Vernon, and the President was not a stranger at Rose Hill, where Johnson spent the latter portion of his life.

[1] Woodrow Wilson, *George Washington* (1896), p. 261.

Time and again Washington importuned his friend to accept some high public office; and on several occasions the Marylander did give up, with reluctance, the tranquillity which retirement and the bosom of his family afforded.

In 1791, Mr. Johnson was appointed Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and, one week after the appointment was confirmed, he presided as one of the judges in the celebrated British Debt case (*Ware, Administrator* v. *Hylton et al.*),[2] in the United States Circuit Court at Richmond, wherein Patrick Henry appeared as one of the counsel for the defendants. The trial attracted wide attention and is regarded as the most important legal cause in which Mr. Henry ever participated. In 1792, Mr. Justice Johnson sat, with Jay, *CJ.*, Iredell, Cushing, Blair, and Wilson, *JJ.*, in another important British debt case (*Georgia* v. *Brailsford et al.*),[3] in which his dissent constitutes the first opinion printed in the reports of the Supreme Court of the United States. At this time, Mr. Johnson was holding another position, to which he had been appointed by President Washington: for a period of four years—from early in 1791 until the fall of 1794—he served as a member of the Board of Commissioners of the Federal District, appointed to build the Capital City. Feeling, however, that, on account of his advancing years, he could not, with credit to himself and with justice to his positions, serve in this dual capacity, he resigned as a member of the Supreme Court in 1793. It may be added in this connection that it was Mr. Johnson and his two associates on the Federal Commission who settled upon *Washington* as the name for the Federal City.

In 1795, when the Union was shaken by excitement over the Jay treaty and Secretary of State Randolph resigned, President Washington offered his final tribute to Mr. Johnson by appealing to him to enter the Cabinet. But Mr. Johnson, on account of his failing strength, declined the portfolio.

Four years later, on December 14, 1799, Washington passed

[2] *1 Curtis Decisions*, 164-220.
[3] *2 Dallas*, 402.

away; and on the 22d of February, 1800, the grief-stricken Johnson made his final public appearance at a mock funeral of the great soldier-statesman of Virginia. On this occasion, held at Frederick, Maryland, the former Governor, after a long funeral procession, delivered an historic eulogy on the character and public services of the lamented President—a touching tribute to his beloved compatriot.

CHAPTER I

Ancestry

About the time of the "Glorious Revolution" in England—when William of Orange appeared at the head of a Dutch Army to save England from Tory regime, and King James II fled to France, after which William and Mary jointly in 1689 ascended the throne—a vessel, commanded by Captain Roger Baker, clandestinely set sail for America. Among those on the vessel were Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Johnson, a newly married couple, who were leaving their native land forever.

* * * * * *

Mr. Johnson was a barrister of Norfolk county and had sprung from an honorable English family, the members of which had taken a conspicuous part in the affairs of Yarmouth for a century. Great Yarmouth—distinguished from the suburb, Little Yarmouth, on the opposite bank of the River Yare—has been settled since the days of the Roman invasion, and is now a port of over 50,000 inhabitants, and the chief centre of the English herring fishery. For many years its population consisted mainly of hardy sailors and fishermen of the North Sea, who traded, smuggled, and plundered along the coasts of England and Scotland. Pirate rulers, euphemistically styled "vikings," governed Yarmouth until the reign of King John, when the town was given a charter incorporating it as a borough with the privileges of self-government. As an example of the leadership inherent in the Johnson family, tradition points to the fact that several members of the family commanded vessels in

the fleet sent out from Yarmouth to meet the Grand Armada, fitted out in 1588 by Philip II of Spain against Queen Elizabeth.

Shortly after the time of the destruction of the "Invincible Armada," James Johnson was chosen one of the bailiffs of Yarmouth. Being the chief magistrates, the bailiffs were the most influential citizens of the borough. Mr. Johnson and his fellow bailiff, John Wheeler, distinguished themselves in 1589 and 1590 by erecting, for the protection of Yarmouth, sea-walls which were far more substantial than any that had ever been built before. A few miles above the mouth of the Yare, the town stands on a slip of land, a mile and a half wide, washed on the east by the North Sea and by the River on the west. Back in the early days, sea-walls had been again and again constructed, only to be destroyed; so Johnson and his colleague devised the scheme of building two walls, inner and outer. The improvement was acclaimed exerywhere, even in verse, as a great triumph of foresight and skill. So durably were the walls built that the ravages of three centuries were powerless completely to destroy them. When Bradley T. Johnson, a Confederate General in the Civil War, visited Norfolk county in 1873, he saw at Yarmouth some of the remains of the sea-walls erected by his ancestor in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Thomas Johnson, the son of James, followed in the footsteps of his father by serving, in 1624, as one of the bailiffs of Yarmouth. In 1625, he occupied a seat in the first Parliament of Charles I, which the new king speedily dissolved, when the Commons refused to grant him the full measure of support he demanded for the conduct of the war with Spain. In 1635 and 1636, Mr. Johnson served again as bailiff of Yarmouth.

The "Great Rebellion" between the Royalists, or *Cavaliers,* and the Parliamentary forces, called *Roundheads,*—destined to divide the nation on account of religion,—was now approaching. In the eastern counties the *Roundheads* formed an organization which raised a well-disciplined army under the command of the Earl of Manchester and Oliver Cromwell. One of the promi-

nent members of the "Eastern Counties Association" was Thomas Johnson, Jr. Chosen bailiff of Yarmouth in 1644, shortly after his father had held this office, the younger Thomas was selected by the Earl of Manchester in the same year to command the Yarmouth militia. In his "Life of Cromwell," Thomas Carlyle makes a special reference to Captain Thomas Johnson, Jr., of the Revolutionary forces, and quotes Oliver Cromwell as saying that he was afraid Capt. Johnson and his troops of horse were ready to cut his throat because he had employed "such common men in places of rank." The Commonwealth and Protectorate, commencing when Charles I was beheaded in 1649, continued until 1660. Thought to have been disgusted at the execution of Charles I, Capt. Johnson espoused the cause of the Royalists. He was confirmed in his command as Captain by Sir Edward Walker, the Lieutenant of the King, and when the new Parliament in 1661, following the coronation of Charles II, passed an act which disqualified the incumbent bailiff of Yarmouth, Capt. Johnson was appointed to take his place. For defending Yarmouth against the complaints of Lowestoft, a neighboring port, he was presented with a piece of plate as an evidence of the grateful appreciation of the people of the borough.

The gratitude of the Crown for Captain Johnson's separation from the Revolutionary forces is evidenced by the granting to him in 1661 of alteration and confirmation of arms by the Herald's College, through Sir Edward Walker, in recognition of the Captain's "great suffering and loyalty." The pedigree and arms of Capt. Johnson were recorded a few years later. Thus, since the early days of the Restoration, the Johnson family arms have been learnedly described by the language of heraldry:

"*Argent; a fess, counter-embattled; between three lion's heads, erased, gules, ducally crowned, or. Crest: a leopard's head, gules, issuing from a ducal crown, or.*"

The Johnson coat of arms may be described in plainer language as: "A silver shield; across the centre, drawn hori-

zontally, a band broken alternately above and below like battlements; between three red lion's heads, with jagged edges as if torn off the bodies, and with golden coronets. Crest: a red leopard's head issuing from a golden ducal crown." In the United States the members of the Johnson family have used the words, "*Confide et Certa*" or "Trust and Strive," in connection with the coat of arms; but General Bradley T. Johnson, on his return from England, declared that, while the arms as used in America by the descendants of Captain Thomas Johnson otherwise correspond with the description emblazoned in the Herald's Office, there is no authentic record of any motto in connection with the arms.

Captain Johnson left two sons, Thomas and James. James, the younger, was destined to make a mark in his generation. He was deputed by the corporation to receive King Charles II, when he visited Yarmouth in 1671, and the sovereign was entertained by Mr. Johnson at his home on the South Quay. His Majesty showed his appreciation by knighting him. In 1681, during the reign of Charles II, he served as member of Parliament; but he declined to accept the wages or expenses which at that time it was the custom of the boroughs and shires to pay to their representatives. After the Duke of York was proclaimed James II, upon the death of Charles II in 1685, Sir James Johnson stood in confidential relations with the Court. Early in 1687, for example, he produced a royal order in council displacing some of the aldermen and common councilmen and another order appointing their successors. His arms and pedigree are recorded in the College of Arms, in London, among the Knights of Sir William Le Neve, who carried the proclamation of Charles I to the Earl of Essex the day after the first pitched battle of the "Great Rebellion." After reciting the pedigree, the record in the College of Arms adds: "James Johnson of Yarmouth aforesaid, knighted as above, lived well, spent much, died poor."

Early in life, many years before he was knighted, Sir James was appointed to serve on a committee to settle some differences

that had arisen relative to the appointment of a curate; and, when the dispute broke out again several years later, he was appointed to serve as a member of a delegation to journey to Norwich to present the claims of Yarmouth before the Lord Bishop. It was here that Sir James found his wife. He married Miss Dorothy Scotlowe, the daughter of Augustin Scotlowe, Mayor of Norwich. Sir James and Dorothy Johnson were the parents of two sons, James, born in 1650, and Thomas, born in 1656. Thomas died, unmarried, at the age of 28.

James Johnson, the elder son of Sir James, married, and one of his sons, during the turbulent reign of Anne, was elevated to a responsible position in the Office of Foreign Affairs. Another of James's sons, who took up the study of law, fell in love with a chancery ward named Mary Baker, and married her without the consent of the Lord High Chancellor. Inasmuch as abduction and marrying of maids in chancery constituted a high misprision, punishable with heavy fine and imprisonment as a contempt of court, the young lawyer and his wife decided to flee from England. They appealed for help to Captain Roger Baker, the bride's father, who was a mariner of Liverpool, and he agreed to assist them in their romantic escape by allowing them passage on his boat bound for the New World, as explained at the beginning of the chapter.

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After the long journey across the Atlantic, Capt. Baker steered his ship up the Chesapeake to the mouth of St. Leonard's Creek, where Capt. Thomas Clagett, from the parish of St. Leonard's, London, had settled some years before. Here, in Calvert county, in 1689 or 1690, the immigrants landed. This was a year or more before Maryland was established as a Royal Province and Sir Lionel Copley chosen as Governor.

Thousands of miles away from the grip of the stern British law, young Mr. Johnson felt that he was safe from arrest for his illegal marriage; but it was not long before his impulsive nature and stubborn will brought him, charged with a penal offense, before the bar of justice. The commission of this crime came

as a result of his deep political convictions. His grandfather, Sir James Johnson, knighted by Charles II, having been held in high favor at the Court of James II, it was natural that the young Marylander sympathized with King James, who had been compelled to flee to France, rather than with William of Orange, who came at the head of the Dutch Army to rescue England, it was said, from arbitrary rule and Catholicism. Whilst the majority of the Convention, which William summoned in 1689, was fiercely Whig, the Tory admirers of James II vigorously protested against the deposition of the sovereign who was entitled by divine right to be King. The Tories accordingly proposed the plan of allowing James to reign nominally as King and William of Orange to govern as Regent; but the Convention took the position that James, by reason of the fact that he had left England, had abdicated and hence William was lawfully entitled to ascend the vacant throne. And so when the "Declaration of Right," denouncing many of James's acts as illegal, was ratified by William and Mary, the throne was offered to them as joint sovereigns. Their accession exploded the old Tory theory of *Divine Hereditary Right.* Now a sovereign was subject to ejection, if he failed properly to perform his duties. The seventeenth-century struggle between king and subjects had ended: Parliament was now the strongest element in the English state. Young Tom Johnson, however, in far-away Maryland, retained his loyalty to James II, and as late as "the Sixth yeare of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord & Lady William & Mary King & Queen of England," Mr. Johnson was arrested for uttering treasonable words against the King and Queen.

When the accusation was made against Johnson, the government of the Colony was in a very unstable condition. Sir Thomas Lawrence, whom William and Mary had chosen for Secretary of Maryland, had been impeached by Copley's Administration and thrown into prison. When Governor Copley died in 1693, the Governor of Virginia seized the government of Maryland and assumed the authority of making Col. Nicholas

Greenberry, President of the Council, acting Governor. Later, however, the impeachment proceedings against Lawrence were declared illegal and he was "appointed" by the Governor of Virginia as the President of the Council and acting Governor of Maryland. Francis Nicholson, lawfully appointed Governor, did not arrive in Maryland to assume control until July, 1694, and so when the Council met at Battle Town, in Calvert county, in June, 1694, it consisted of both Sir Thomas Lawrence and Col. Greenberry as well as Thomas Tench, Esq., Capt. John Addison, Capt. John Courts, and Thomas Brooke, Esq. At the second session held on the 14th of June, commencing at 5 o'clock in the evening, a warrant was issued to the sheriff of Calvert county to arrest Thomas Johnson and to bring him forthwith before the Council "to answer to such things as on their Majesties' behalfe shall be objected against him." He was apprehended immediately and brought before the Council. A deposition, sworn to by Dr. Symon Wotton, was read aloud. It accused Johnson of uttering the following words: "All the people are rogues to the Government, and I will never swear to any king but King James!" The Council ordered [4] the accused to be kept in the sheriff's custody until he entered himself into recognizance in the sum of 500 pounds sterling and his two security in the sum of 250 pounds each for his appearance at the next Provincial Court "and in the mean time to be of good behaviour." Dr. Wotton also had to give bond in the sum of 200 pounds that he would appear as a witness for the Crown.

It is believed that Johnson skipped his bail. On July 21, 1698—after a lapse of four years—John Broadhurst, another Calvert countian, appeared before the Council in Annapolis to testify relative to the rebellious utterance. A day later, Capt. Richard Smith was haled before Governor Nicholson and his Council, under the charge that he was in his own home when the utterance was made by Johnson and that he "countenanced him by laughing and grinning thereat." The Council required

[4] Proceedings of Council, 20 *Archives*, 72.

Capt. Smith to give security for his appearance at Court in 2,000 pounds sterling.

Forced once more to flee for safety, Mr. Johnson trafficked in furs with the Indians. Some years later, when his brother had gained considerable influence at the Court of Anne, who became Queen in 1702 upon the death of William III, he decided to endeavor to make his way back to England. Believing that he could now visit England without any danger of arrest for his illegal marriage many years before, and taking with him a lot of fine furs and a quantity of gold, he set sail. But at this time a journey on the Atlantic was unusually perilous. Within a few weeks after Queen Anne's accession, war had commenced: England, Germany, and Holland formed an alliance against France and Spain—a conflict which saw no end until the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, which marked an epoch in the history of England and of Europe. Sea and land were paraded by belligerents. While on the Atlantic, the vessel in which Johnson was traveling was captured by the Spaniards, and all on board were robbed of everything they had and imprisoned. After a considerable length of time, Johnson managed to escape on a Canadian ship. In a destitute condition, about the year 1714, he finally found his way to Canada. Long, dreary years of solitude as a wanderer and prisoner having made him anxious to get back to Calvert county to see his wife and child, he was reduced to the necessity of tramping all the way to Maryland on foot. When he came to the end of his long journey, he found that his home had been set on fire by the Indians. From anxiety and grief, Mrs. Johnson pined away; while her husband, weakened by exhaustion and exposure, followed her a short time later to the grave. They were buried side by side at Back Creek, near the spot where they had first set foot on the soil of America.

Thus ends the pathetic story of the Johnson fugitives—the Yarmouth barrister and the ward in chancery. Their name was perpetuated, however, by an only son, Thomas, born on the 19th of February, 1702. Left an orphan at the age of twelve,

the youngster was given food and clothing by kind-hearted friends. The boy was given a good education, for, when the Assembly in 1723, during the administration of Governor Charles Calvert, passed the Act "for the encouragement of Learning and erecting Schools in the several Counties within this Province"—the School Law that became the nucleus of the County Academies—Thomas Johnson, Jr., was named as one of the seven "visitors" or trustees in Cecil county to carry out the provisions of the Act. This list of seven trustees for each county, embodied by the Assembly in the statute, shows who were considered "the better and more intelligent sort of people at that early period." [5]

At the age of twenty-three—on March 12, 1725—young Mr. Johnson was married to Dorcas Sedgwick, a girl of nineteen summers, who was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Joshua Sedgwick, of Calvert county. The Sedgwicks—the name was originally Sedwick, but is now often seen as Sedgwick or Sedgewick—were Puritans who had come down from Connecticut to Virginia, and when forced to leave Virginia settled in Maryland. Shortly after his marriage, Mr. Johnson was sent as a Delegate from Cecil county to the Lower House of the Maryland Assembly, and was re-elected from year to year up until about the time of the birth of his distinguished son, his namesake, the first Governor of the State of Maryland.

Thus, the favoring influence of heredity in the case of Governor Johnson is quite apparent. It is quite true, as Theodore E. Burton admits, in his biography of John Sherman, that: "Neither inherited predilection for a public career nor the prestige of a family name has been a requisite for gaining exalted official station. Along with the unequaled possibilities which our country affords, there also exists the nearest approach to equality of opportunity, and the highest political rewards have been obtained by industry, ability, and the possession of popular qualities." Washington, Adams, Polk, and Van Buren were sons of the soil; Lincoln, Jackson, Clay, and Garfield

[5] Neill, *Terra Mariae*, p. 189.

were the children of poverty. "There is another list, however," continues Senator Burton, "quite as numerous, which tends to show that an inherited bias for public service is not without advantage. It is made up of those whose fathers held office, but in a theatre of action very limited in area, in many cases including only a township or a county, preferment having been given because of their sturdy common sense and unswerving integrity. Whatever inspiration descended to their sons, impelling them to participate in public affairs, was derived from such sources as the town meeting, the county court, the colonial or state legislature, or the command of the local militia." On account of the fact that his mother came from fine, Puritan stock and his father was well educated, and served as a school trustee and a member of the Colonial Legislature, and in consequence of the heritage of his ancestors, Governor Johnson deserves to be placed, in the latter class, along with Jefferson, Marshall, Henry, Webster, Calhoun, Seward, Sherman, and Blaine.

CHAPTER II

Birth And Early Life

Thomas Johnson, the fifth child of Thomas and Dorcas (Sedgwick) Johnson, was born on the 4th of November, 1732, on his father's farm near the mouth of St. Leonard's Creek, destined to be the scene some years later of the "Battle of the Barges," in which Commodore Joshua Barney, commanding the Chesapeake flotilla during the War of 1812, met the British frigates. Being situated high upon an eminence, the Johnson home commanded a fine view of the Patuxent as far as Point Patience.

The year 1732, memorable as the date of the birth of George Washington, is also the date of the birth of Richard Henry Lee, another distinguished patriot who became a friend of Johnson. It was Mr. Lee who, while serving as a member of the Continental Congress, offered the famous Resolution, "That the United Colonies are and ought to be free and independent States; that

they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved." Mr. Lee's great-grandfather had emigrated from England to Virginia during the reign of Charles I, and Washington's great-grandfather settled in the same Colony during the Protectorate several years after the execution of the King. Although the Old Dominion lays claim to both George Washington and Richard H. Lee, their birthplaces, in Westmoreland county, are within a radius of a few miles from the home of Thomas Johnson on the northern side of the Potomac. The birthplace of Mr. Johnson, it may be added here incidentally, was destroyed by fire some years later, and there was left remaining only one small outbuilding, built by his brother, James, for a bakery, where ship biscuit was made to supply the vessels that lay in the creek.

The first child of Thomas and Dorcas Johnson, born December 13, 1725, and christened Thomas—a name that had been used in the family through many generations—died when very young. All the other children—seven sons and four daughters—grew to maturity, remaining on the farm in Calvert county until they were able to take care of themselves.

The following were the eleven surviving children:

(1) Benjamin, the eldest, was born July 6, 1727, and served as a Major in the Maryland forces during the Revolutionary War. He was twice married; having two children by his first wife and six by the second.

(2) Mary, the eldest daughter, was born May 5, 1729. She was married to Walter Hellen, Esq., and left three children.

(3) Rebecca was born on the 3d of November, 1730. She became the wife of Thomas McKenzie, Esq., but died, on March 1, 1767, soon after the marriage.

(4) Thomas.

(5) Dorcas was born October 17, 1734. In August, 1783, when nearly 49 years old, she became the wife of Col. Josiah Clapham, of Loudoun county, Virginia.

(6) James was born September 30, 1736. He married

Margaret Skinner, of Calvert county, and went to Indian Spring, in Frederick (now Washington) county. After constructing the "Green Spring" Iron Furnace, about a mile from Fort Frederick, he settled in 1774 within the present borders of Frederick county. With the aid of his brothers, he managed "Catoctin" Furnace, "Bush Creek" Forge, "Johnson" Furnace, near the mouth of the Monocacy River, and the "Potomac" Furnace, in Loudoun county, Virginia, opposite Pt. of Rocks. He served as the Colonel of a Battalion of infantry in the Flying Camp raised by his distinguished brother and served, in 1779, with Upton Sheredine and Alexander C. Hanson, as a member of the Court Martial, which tried and ordered the execution of a number of Tories in Frederick Town.

(7) Elizabeth was born on the 17th of September, 1739. She became the wife of George Cook, who commanded a Maryland war-ship during the Revolution. Capt. Cook is described as "a bold, blustering Scottish sea captain" with short queue and cocked hat, with many eccentricities, albeit honest and industrious and a good husband.

(8) Joshua was born June 25, 1742. He entered a counting-house in London and eventually became a large dealer in tobacco. When the American Colonies declared their independence, he took up his residence in Nantes, France, and during the Revolution served as American Agent in France. From 1790 to 1797, he served, under the appointment of Washington, as the first American Consul at London. In 1797, his second daughter, Louisa Catherine, was married to John Quincy Adams, who was at that time Ambassador to the Court of Berlin. On his return to America, Joshua was appointed by President John Adams as superintendent of stamps, in Washington, a position which he held until the time of his death.

(9) John, born August 29, 1745, became a physician, and for some time occupied an office on West Patrick street, in Frederick Town. He served as a surgeon in the Maryland Line during the Revolution.

(10) Baker was born on the 30th of September, 1747. After

studying law in the office of his brother, Thomas, at Annapolis, he settled in Frederick to engage in the practice of his profession. He commanded a Battalion with the rank of Colonel in the Brigade of his brother, and was at the Battle of Paoli, near Philadelphia, famous for the slaughter of Wayne's men. He married Miss Catherine Worthington, the daughter of Col. Nicholas Worthington, of Anne Arundel county, by whom he had eleven children.

(11) Roger, the "baby" of the family, was born March 18, 1749. After studying under his brother, Thomas, he settled in Frederick county to engage in the iron business. With the aid of his brothers, he built "Bloomsbury" Forge, on Bennett's Creek, in Urbana District, and also managed the Forge on Bush Creek, at Riehl's Mill, in the northern part of the District. He had the rank of Major in his brother James's Battalion. He was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Thomas, of Montgomery county, by whom he had eleven children.

The good, Puritan mother who raised these eleven children lived long enough to see her youngest son, Roger, pass the age of twenty-one. Her death occurred on the 11th of December, 1770, several years before her son, Thomas, was chosen the first Governor of the Commonwealth. Thomas Johnson, Sr., died on April 11, 1777, thus living only three weeks after his distinguished son was first inaugurated Chief Executive of Maryland.

Thomas Johnson, Sr., was characterized by obstinacy of temper, an apparently ineradicable family trait, but possessed incorruptible integrity and purity of character. He was devoted to his family. The deep concern which he had for his eleven children after they had grown to maturity is shown by the following interesting letter written by him, after his wife's death, to his son, James, who was at that time conducting the iron furnace near Fort Frederick:

Jemme Johnson.

Dear Child—

I wrote you and Roger some short time since by Wm. Skinner which expect is come to hand before the receipt of this. Baker has given me the welcome news of your having been in Annapolis during the snow storm, for which I am glad and thankful it so happened. I am sorrey for your loss of your hoss he being the most Beautiful one according to my tast ever I saw com from your parts.

The winter has been and is very sevear and this snow excells the year forty though remarcable all over Europe. Our stocks of Corn runs low and fodder near exosted so that in all probility our stocks must be minished very low to all appearance. At present, through marcey, our family are all on foot at present. Darkey (Dorcas) is gone down to Becey (Rebecca). Her time is near come according to womans judgment. George Cook is up in Calvert now driving away after subscriptions for a ship in the London Traid. Pray write me how you got home and have had your health after your journey. I am doubtful it was a very unpleasant one.

Should take it kind of you to let me know how Johnny pretends to proceed what vocation he intends to follow to gette a living. I asked him the Day he went away he made me an abroubt worded answer he didn't know. I am doubtful his obstinate temper will never gain him credit nor any of the family but pray let me hear in particular his attempts and how he pretends to proceed.

I wish you all the comforts this life affords—this from your ever loving affectionate Father Thos Johnson

21 March 1772.

The Johnson children received elementary instruction at a school at St. Leonard's. At that day, the schools in America taught nothing more than "the three R's," but the Johnson parents, although enabled to live in comfortable circumstances,

were precluded by the expense of raising such a large family from the possibility of affording their children a classical education in Europe.

Whilst the educational advantages in all the Colonies were of a very unpretentious character, the Johnsons were happily located within a few miles of Annapolis, the Capital of Maryland, which was, socially, intellectually, and commercially, one of the leading centres of American civilization. Thither—to the "Athens of America"—Thomas Johnson, the younger, was sent at an early age to make his living.

The history of Annapolis dates back to 1649, when it was settled by Puritan refugees from Virginia, who came to Maryland to enjoy freedom of worship; but it was not until the year 1683 that the settlement was erected into a town, becoming the Capital of the Province in 1694. Between 1750 and the outbreak of the Revolution, Annapolis saw its most brilliant days. The following old record of Annapolis, preserved since 1749, indicates that the Puritanical character of the town had disappeared by that day:

> "The outlook of the city was fair and promising, its merchants had secured the chief trade of the province; ships from all seas came to its harbour; its endowed school (King William's) educated its citizens for important positions; its thought made the mind of the province. The gayety of its inhabitants, and their love of refined pleasure had developed the race-course, the theatre, the ball-room; their love of learning, the *Gazette* and King William's school; creations and enterprises that made the province famous in after years as the centre of the social pleasures, of the culture and of the refinement of the American colonies."

Annapolis of pre-Revolutionary days has been described in detail by William Eddis, one of the commissioners of the loan office of Maryland, who wrote great volumes of letters to his relatives and friends in England. In October, 1769, this prolific letter-writer paints the following picture of Annapolis:

"At present the city has more the appearance of an agreeable village, than the metropolis of an opulent province, as it contains within its limits a number of small fields, which are intended for future erections. But in a few years, it will probably be one of the best built cities in America, as a spirit of improvement is predominant, and the situation is allowed to be equally healthy and pleasant with any on this side the Atlantic. Many of the principal families have chosen this place for their residence, and there are few towns of the same size, in any part of the British dominions, that can boast of a more polished society.

"The court-house, situated on an eminence at the back of the town, commands a variety of views highly interesting; the entrance of the Severn, the majestic Chesapeake, and the eastern shore of Maryland, being all united in one resplendent assemblage, vessels of various sizes and figures are constantly floating before the eye; which, while they add to the beauty of the scene, excite ideas of the most pleasing nature."

Another interesting bit of description of the gay life in Annapolis prior to the Revolution has been presented as follows by S. G. Fisher, in his "Colonial Men, Women and Manners":

"The men and women, who, like the rest of the Maryland gentry, ordered champagne from Europe by the cask, and madeira by the pipe, also dressed expensively in the latest English fashions, and French travellers said that they had seldom seen such clothes outside of Paris. They had French barbers, negro slaves in livery, and drove light carriages,—an extremely rare indulgence in colonial times. The clubs got up excursions, picnics, and fishing parties. Balls were given on all the great English anniversaries, and the birthday of the proprietor and saints' days were used as excuses."

Upon arriving at the Capital, Thomas Johnson, Jr., was turned over to Thomas Jennings, the Register of the Land Office under the proprietary. The lad's first employment, as a writer in the office of the Clerk of the Provincial Clerk, presented him the opportunity not only of becoming acquainted with court procedure, but also of hearing some of the most brilliant American lawyers, headed by Daniel Dulany, the foremost lawyer of the New World, then engaged in active practice in Annapolis.

Young Johnson, deciding to take up the study of law, was given the privilege of studying in the office of Stephen Bordley. "As a lawyer," says Scharf, concerning Mr. Bordley, "he stood high in the Province and in Europe, and many distinguished lawyers of the Province studied under him." Although born in Annapolis, Mr. Bordley received his education in England. After a preliminary education at school followed by the study of law for a period of four years in the office of an English barrister, he sojourned for several years within the classical precincts of the Temple. In 1736, when he was 27 years old, his father, Thomas Bordley, one of the most profound lawyers of his time, died; and Stephen, the eldest son, thereupon began to assume a commanding position at the Colonial Bar. He served as a member of the Assembly, in the Council, as Commissary General, Naval Officer at Annapolis, and as Attorney-General of the Province. While Daniel Dulany was recognized both at home and in Europe as the foremost lawyer in the New World, Mr. Bordley was considered his nearest professional rival. Indeed, in the reports of the Court of Appeals of the Province and of the High Court of Chancery, his name appears almost, if not quite, as frequently as that of the great Dulany.

A very interesting glimpse into the character of Mr. Johnson's preceptor is presented by Governor Sharpe in his letters to Cecilius Calvert, the Secretary of Maryland. The following is an extract from a letter,[6] written July 7, 1760, in which the Governor describes the personnel of his Council:

[6] 9 *Archives*, 425.

"Of Mr. Bordley the other Gentleman who has a seat in the Council in consequence of my recommendation, I shall say the less as you seem to be already thoroughly satisfied of his ability and inclination to promote His Lordship's interest, indeed I am rather afraid that his earnest desire to do His Lordship acceptable service might sometimes carry him into extremes, he being of a very sanguine complection, and lest he should thereby prejudice the cause he would wish to serve than lest he should be deficient in point of duty. His abilities as a lawyer cannot be questioned and by this means he will I suppose be ever a check on Mr. Dulany of whom however he is perhaps too suspicious and jealous as they have always been at enmity, but as there is no man who is not liable to error and those of a warm temper are generally more liable than others, I shall never think it right to surrender myself up even to this Gentleman as to a Pilot, tho I assure you his opinion in matters of Law will always determine me; and his advice in other affairs will have great weight unless upon examining his propositions cooly and considering them maturely, I see good cause to decline carrying them into execution."

That Bordley was regarded as a peer of Dulany is indicated by another letter to Calvert, written by Governor Sharpe on May 8, 1764.

"How he (Dulany) behaved in England I know not," writes the Governor, "but he affects a great superiority here and indeed the only person in the Council that he seemed to consider as an equal was Mr. Bordley and as that gentleman is unhappily reduced to such a state by a paralytic disorder as to be almost disqualified for business Mr. Dulany who is now in perfect health seems to think himself of still greater importance than ever."

Mr. Bordley was never happier than when he was contributing to the happiness or advancement of young people. Mr.

Johnson was only one of a number of young men whom he assisted on the highway to success. William Paca, one of the "Signers," who was eight years younger than Mr. Johnson, also received his legal training under Mr. Bordley. John Beale Bordley, a half-brother, who was about five years older than Johnson, was another of his disciples.

But Stephen Bordley, though a diligent student of the law, was not a recluse. He had a jovial disposition and was famed for his hospitality. Remaining a bachelor his entire life, he was fond of young people's company. His home was constantly the scene of entertainments to the young ladies "of the first circle" in Annapolis, who "smiled at his primitive and precise politeness, but justly admired his wit, good sense, and good humor." [7] In a letter written in 1750 to his relatives in England, Mr. Bordley said: "We live well, and cheerfully, with the enjoyment of all the necessaries and many of the little comforts of life. . . . We are all still single; a strange family! perhaps you'll say; but Beale is now in pursuit of a Dove, and I am apt to believe will soon break the enchantment." Beale married shortly afterwards. He did not, however, remain long in Annapolis. The practice of law did not appeal to him, and in 1753 (the year Thomas Johnson became of age), Beale secured the appointment of prothonotary, or clerk, of Baltimore county, and thereupon took up his residence at Joppa, where he remained for a period of twelve years, after which he moved to Baltimore.

Mr. Johnson was admitted, in due time, as a member of the Bar. He had received an excellent preparation. The specimens of his pleading indicate that he was a diligent student and a thoroughly trained master of the science of law. Opening his office in Annapolis for the practice of his profession, he rapidly rose to the first professional rank in the Province. He became engaged as counsel in litigation arising in many parts of the Colony, and in 1760 he was admitted to the Bar of Frederick county, where Mr. Bordley had first appeared in 1755. In the decade preceding the Revolution, Johnson held an enviable

[7] Gibson, *Biographical Sketches of the Bordley Family.*

position in the legal profession, when Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, James Hollyday, Edward Dorsey, James Tilghman, and the Goldsboroughs adorned the Colonial Bar. One writer, supposed to be Roger B. Taney, in the *National Journal,* published February 28, 1826, says that Thomas Johnson distinguished himself " for the acuteness of his legal knowledge, sound logical disquisition, and above all for his inflexible honesty and integrity of character."

Being successful in his practice, Mr. Johnson, in the course of time, asked for the hand of Miss Ann Jennings, the daughter of his one-time employer, and they were married on the 16th of February, 1766.

THE ENDOWMENT FUND

The munificent gift to the Maryland Historical Society by Mrs. Mary Washington Keyser, of the property at Park avenue and Monument street and the removal thither from the old quarters of its library and collections, accentuates more than ever its financial needs.

A glance at the situation will convince any one of the imperative necessity of pressing to a conclusion the long contemplated campaign for an endowment.

In order that these needs may be more clearly brought to the attention of the Society, members of several of the standing committees have considered them in detail, and the ways and means for meeting them, and, having laid their conclusions before the Council, now present them briefly for the consideration of the membership.

The Society has had a long and useful career and has numbered among its members the most distinguished names in the annals of our city and state; but with the beginning of a new era in its history it is absolutely essential that the proper financial resources shall be provided, or its usefulness will unquestionably come to an end.

It has brought together a very valuable collection of manuscripts, newspaper files, books and publications dealing with Maryland History, and has accumulated numerous and valuable paintings, and prints, with many rare coins and relics. These collections are, for the first time, adequately housed in the new quarters, where they should be more and more used for the benefit of our citizens and by students of Maryland History. The collection of records of the State's part in the recent great war, and their preservation, add another opportunity and responsibility to those already placed upon the Society. It should no longer hesitate to so equip itself as to be able to take its proper place among similar organizations, and adequately perform the functions for which its wise Founders created it. To this end, it should at once take such measures as may secure an endowment of $300,000 or more, as no less an amount will be sufficient to meet its necessary and proper expenses.

The policy of the Society should be confined to the collection, preservation and publication of material relating to the History of Maryland in its widest and most comprehensive aspect, comprising documentary, iconographic, bibliographic, biographical and genealogical sources. It should not attempt to duplicate the work of other institutions, or to go beyond the scope of its chosen and limited field.

Its employes should be persons of character and ability, chosen solely with a view to personal fitness for the positions they fill, and their compensation must be commensurate with their several abilities. The Society must develop an efficient staff to do its work effectively, and must maintain the necessary mechanical equipment. For this purpose it must have an adequate permanent income, not dependent upon the dues of a fluctuating membership alone.

The Library and Gallery should be open every secular day of the year, with the exception of Christmas day, and the Fourth of July, and for nine months of the year, from 9 A. M. to 10 P. M., and during the summer from 9 to 5 or 6 o'clock, with a staff large enough to observe such hours, without hardship to any of them. This staff should include:

1. *A Librarian or Executive Secretary,* qualified by tact and training to meet the members and its visitors in a manner to create and foster an interest in the Society and its activities. He should be interested in and conversant with the History of the State and of its people, trained in library work, a good administrator and intellectually alert. He should be qualified to act as Editor of the *Magazine,* and of the *Archives,* and as an adviser of students visiting in the Library. He should keep track of publications relating to our chosen field, and advise as to purchases by the Library Committee. He should be old enough to have proved his worth by experience, and young enough to carry out a well considered, long continued development with enthusiasm.

2. *An Assistant Librarian,* who should be thoroughly trained and progressive, competent to carry on the technical work of the Library, and to act as executive in the absence of the Librarian. Much of the work of preparing a proper card catalogue would fall to him, and he should have direct supervision over it.

3. *A Desk Assistant,* in charge of reading room, and the use of books by borrowers. He should look out for current publications and assist the Cataloguer with routine work.

4. *Library Attendant.* During the period of arranging the books, recataloguing and shelving, there will be much manual labor, which must be done by one who is familiar with the material.

5. *Archivist,* who shall have charge of the copying of the original Archives of the State, their publication, distribution, etc.

6. *Stenographer and Secretary* to the Librarian, who will look out for the business details of correspondence, membership dues, tickets to lectures, etc.

7. *Typist,* who will transcribe such manuscripts as are frequently called for, when a copy is as useful as the original, and who should assist in preparing catalogue cards when not otherwise engaged.

8. *Two Attendants,* to be on duty in the front building or in

the Gallery. They would answer questions and act as messengers for the officers when required and escort visitors through the buildings.

Beside these, the proper physical care of the buildings will require a janitor, at least one scrubwoman and a fireman.

Light, fuel and upkeep expenses will have to be met, in addition to the foregoing salaried employees. The dues from membership and the income from any present assets would be used in the purchase and repair of books, binding of periodicals and newspapers and supplying of office equipment.

It may be thought that the foregoing program is too ambitious, but a critical examination will prove the contrary. Few members of the Society realize the value of our collections, nor do they appreciate the vast amount of labor that will be necessary to properly exploit them and make them thoroughly available for use.

The value of any library depends almost as much on the adequacy of its catalogue, as on the character of its collection; few persons have the time or patience to spend days in search of the data which it is the province of the catalogue to afford. It is equally true that only those who have had experience in such work know and appreciate the amount of time, skill and industry necessary in order to produce a good working catalogue. This is especially true of the historical library, on account of the varied elements to be considered in making proper entries in the case of "association books," local imprints, and the like, which in ordinary circulating libraries are not taken into account. Good cataloguing, while its importance cannot be too strongly emphasized, is an expensive proposition, costing from 25 to 50 cents per volume, and sometimes a single page of manuscript may cost as much as a printed volume.

The treatment of manuscripts is difficult and expensive; each should be calendared and abstracted, and in the case of documents often called for should be reproduced to guard the original against destruction by much handling. The installation of a photostat outfit is an essential part of the equipment

of a modern library and especially of one rich in manuscript collections. Such manuscripts should be printed as soon as possible, and it is here that the *Magazine* demonstrates its value. Such publications rarely return their cost in money, but as they are the only direct point of contact for perhaps 90% of the membership, and bring in "exchanges" largely in excess of their publication cost they must be classed as assets rather than as liabilities.

It therefore, is apparent that dependence can not be placed in the funds received from fluctuating membership dues as increased membership means increased liabilities and responsibilities. The work of a historical society is continuous and progressive and can be successfully carried on only when adequately endowed. It is the duty and it should be the pleasure of every member to contribute to such a fund to the fullest extent of his financial ability.

PASSAGE OF THE SIXTH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT THROUGH BALTIMORE, APRIL 19, 1861

Matthew Page Andrews

There never was a house divided against itself in sharper contrast than Maryland in 1861. Marylanders loved the Union as it was, because Marylanders had so largely made it what it was. With patriots of the Northern States and of the Old Dominion, the inheritors of "Carroll's sacred trust" and of "Howard's warlike thrust" were striving to awaken that spirit of conciliation toward the far South which had animated Burke toward the protesting colonies of Great Britain.

From the secession of South Carolina in December, 1860, to April, 1861, the efforts and hopes and prayers of the best citizens of Baltimore were directed toward the saving of the Union. Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas had not yet seceded. Maryland stood firmly with these, prob-

ably with less secession sentiment within her borders than any of them. Yet Maryland, certainly the more populous and influential Eastern half with its stronger Revolutionary inheritance, was ever a Southern State, and she was linked with the South by the closest ties of commercial, social, and historical relationship. On the other hand, Baltimore was the single city south of Mason and Dixon's line that had large manufacturing interests. These interests tended to link the city with the Congressional majorities of the North, whose protective tariff policy was the burden of complaint in the agricultural South from nullification in 1832 to secession in 1860.

Such was the unique position of Baltimore in the beginning of a crisis wherein the highest authorities of the national Government had been standing confused and irresolute for months. We read in history of the outbreak of April against the Federal troops as represented by the Massachusetts regiment, but strong sentiment prior to this was exhibited in similar though bloodless violence *against any public manifestation of partiality for the Southern Confederacy.* The records show that prior to April, 1861, the appearance of a Confederate emblem was frequently the signal for attack, and up to the time of the Federal call for troops of April 15 it seems that citizens of Baltimore had of themselves successfully prohibited the display of a secession flag. This open hostility to Confederate emblems extended even to the shipping of the harbor; and while in Northern ports ships for some time flew the Palmetto flag of South Carolina with impunity, at Baltimore it was torn down with violence.

The foregoing historical exposition based upon the complete partisan records of the time and the more or less nonpartisan reviews of later date, is not, however, so paradoxical as it would seem; yet, if Baltimore could offer no adequate explanation for this apparent fickleness of heart, she would give to history a fitting parallel to the picture in literature of that volatile populace in Rome as portrayed by Shakespeare in " Julius Cæsar."

In reality, the explanation is not as difficult as it appears. It does not lie in the mob itself, nor yet in Baltimore, but in the

very origin and nature of the American Union. This Union had been formed by an agreement between practically independent and self-governing commonwealths. It was framed by their consent, and it was earnestly hoped and believed that it would continue by their consent. Thus, in consenting to the Constitution, possible secession was recognized by all the Colonies, but committed to writing in the ratification of the Constitution by Virginia and New York alone. In formulating this agreement Maryland played a most conspicuous and historical rôle. Undaunted in the stand she had taken in making the Union possible, she could not sanction coercion therein for herself or for others.

Hence, however weak and unstable such a government may seem to us in the light of our national growth today, coercion of a State against its consent had not been provided for in the Constitution. Although the opinions of men had been modified by time and by national expansion to favor a stronger central government, Maryland, mindful of her historical inheritance, prayed against secession, but rebelled against coercion. This was the stand of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas, and it was the stand of thousands of others in the loyal States whose effort to avert fratricidal strife will yet be recognized as reflecting a patriotism differing in kind only from that of many of those who first responded to the call to arms.

Events moved more rapidly after the bloodless capture of Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861. A few days before this occurred, the newspapers, including the organ of the Administration, had widely published the news that the Federal authorities would deliver the fort to the State of South Carolina. On April 7 Secretary of War Seward had written to Justice Campbell, of the United States Supreme Court, a confirmation of an official assurance to this effect which he had previously given. At the same time vessels were on the way to Sumter carrying with them supplies and men for holding the fort.

The confusion of political thought and opinion throughout the country is unparalleled in modern history. It extended from

the humblest citizen to the highest authorities in the Federal Government. Nor was it otherwise in Baltimore. John P. Kennedy, the Maryland novelist and an ex-Secretary of the Navy, was proposing, in elaborate exposition, a confederation of the border States, which should act as an intermediary between the Northern States and the seven Southern States that had then seceded.

Incidents illustrative of political confusion might be multiplied indefinitely, but from the attack on Sumter a clear-cut issue was framed by the Federal Government. This "firing upon the flag of the nation" was made the immediate pretext for aggressive measures against the Southern Confederacy. As so heralded, it served to inflame the hearts of thousands in the North who seemed not to have noticed or to have forgotten, as it is forgotten today, that this was not the first firing upon the Stars and Stripes. The Union flag had been fired upon from the coast of South Carolina as early as January 9, 1861, for the same reason as that which provoked attack upon it at the later date of April 12.

However, three days later, or on April 15, the issue was definitely drawn in the form of a Federal call for 75,000 volunteers, to compel the seven "Cotton States" to return to the Union. Several States refused to honor the requisition for troops for this purpose, and four more forthwith withdrew from the Union. Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri expressed official disapproval of the order through their Governors or civil authorities; Indiana in the opposition of her Legislature; while Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas passed ordinances of secession.

In Baltimore, after April 15, public sentiment crystallized at once into a spirit of active opposition to any proceedings leading to an aggressive war upon the South. This sentiment was opposed not only to the raising of troops in Maryland to coerce the Southern States, but also to the passing of other troops through the State for this purpose.

On April 18 the vanguard of invasion arrived in Baltimore,

consisting of several hundred Pennsylvania militiamen and two companies of United States artillery. These came by the Northern Central railroad to the old Bolton Station and marched through the city to the Washington depot amid evidences of a popular disapproval that was restrained from actual violence only by the vigilance of the police under Marshal Kane.

Governor Hicks, on the afternoon of the 18th, issued a proclamation important chiefly in that it sought to assure the people of Baltimore that no troops would be sent from the State except for the defense of the national capital against attack.

There was strong belief in the minds of some that the troops were to be used solely in the defense of Washington. Attempts were made so to represent the case, in order to allay excitement and avoid clashes. Comparatively few, however, were convinced by this reasoning, because the language of the call to arms clearly indicated aggressive war measures as the first duty of the troops. Therefore the great majority of the people of Baltimore believed that the men were enlisted for invasion, and they then expressed themselves in a representative convention assembled on the evening of the 18th, in which the proposed forcible retaking of the forts in the seceded States was strongly denounced. On motion of Mr. Ross Winans resolutions were drawn up to this effect and signed by A. C. Robinson, chairman, and G. Harlan Williams, and Albert Ritchie, secretaries.

There were frequent clashes of partisans throughout the 18th, for the most part around the newspaper offices of different—and differing—journals of the day, where exciting bulletins were being received telling of further secessions and of the rumblings of impending war. Business was almost wholly suspended and Baltimore was tense with the conflicting feelings that were to precipitate the first loss of life on the morrow.

April 19, 1861, was the eighty-sixth anniversary of the battle of Lexington, which marked the beginning of the great civil conflict between the colonies and the mother country. It is said that nature seemed to smile in her brightest springtime glory on

Baltimore on this second 19th that was to find Massachusetts militia in a position partly parallel to 1775, partly the reverse.

No clear understanding of the events that followed may be had without an appreciation, first, of the serious blunder in the change of plans which placed all of these Massachusetts troops in an unnecessarily dangerous position, and some of them in an extremely critical one. Second, we must have knowledge of the Federal negligence which prevented the civil authorities in Baltimore from making proper arrangements for protecting the troops from violence. No one, acquainted with the facts, can have a reasonable doubt that, if either one of these mistakes had not been committed, there would have been no bloodshed, a bloodshed which helped to send perhaps 10,000 additional Marylanders into the Confederate armies. No explanation seems to have been offered for either mistake.

For the exposition of the first of these mistakes, it is necessary to take the view of the troops that were to play a part in the bloody drama. The Sixth Massachusetts was the first fully organized and equipped regiment to respond to the call of the President. In a triumphal passage through New York they had been wildly cheered. Reaching Philadelphia on the night of the 18th, they were notified (according to President Felton, of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad Company), that instead of an ovation in Baltimore, they were likely to meet with serious opposition. Col. Edward F. Jones, the commanding officer, caused "ammunition to be distributed and arms loaded." He also directed: (1) That the regiment was to march through the mile or more of Baltimore streets from station to station in a body; (2) that the men were not to notice insults, abuse or even the throwing of missiles; (3) that if, however, they were fired upon, the officers would give the order to fire, not promiscuously, but in the direction of the point of attack. This order, in all its parts, is to be highly commended; in no part was it entirely carried out. The first and most serious mistake was to change the plan so as to prevent the troops from efficient self-protection by dividing them up into companies and even

parts of companies for transportation across the city in cars drawn by horses. Such a move seemed to invite attack, if attack were but half intended.

This is the simple statement of the first great blunder. For an understanding of the second it is necessary to take the view of the much harassed civil authorities of the border city in its unhappy attempts at maintaining its intended position of neutrality. It is certain that, whatever may have been the expressed opposition to the passage of troops through the city, the civil authorities of Baltimore were determined to protect the troops that might pass during the time their protests were under consideration by the Federal Government.

In order to be prepared to afford this protection it was essential that the police should know when fresh troops were due to arrive, at what points and in what number. On the 19th the civil authorities of Baltimore were utterly unable to secure this information in any particular until too late to provide adequate protection for the soldiers. This was the second great blunder. No record has been found that assigns any reason for this negligence, although attempts were made by the Marshal of Police to secure the information by telegraphing repeatedly to the offices of the railroad company in Philadelphia. With this twofold explanation in view the narrative of actual conflict may be taken up, and the bloody events that follow seem less amazing and more the natural outcome of circumstances subject to some degree of accountability.

The Massachusetts troops, together with seven unarmed Pennsylvania companies, arrived at the President Street Station of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad about noon. As intimated above, it was then the custom to convey passengers from this station to that of the Baltimore and Ohio for Washington in detached railroad coaches drawn by horses. This plan of passage through the city was adopted by the troops after their arrival, instead of following the original order of marching in one body.

The route lay along President street northward to Pratt street

and west for about a mile to Howard street, and then to Camden Station of the Baltimore and Ohio. Seven companies, in about nine cars, were successfully conveyed through the city without casualty, although all the cars were jeered and hissed at times, and the last of these thus getting through was damaged by missiles and some of the soldiers were injured.

As the troops were being thus drawn through the city, the news of their arrival spread. The number of people along the route increased, and measures were quickly taken to obstruct further passage. Near the corner of Gay and Pratt streets a load of sand was seized and dumped upon the track. Merchants and their clerks, aided by negro sailors from the South, dragged anchors from the nearby dock and placed them across the rails. A pile of cobblestones added to these made a formidable barricade.

The next car was effectually stopped by these obstructions. The frightened driver hitched his horses to the rear and drove it back as rapidly as possible toward the President Street Station, turning back the following cars as he met them. The troops thus turned back consisted of four companies, numbering about 220 men. These forthwith formed at the station, and the order was given to march forward to Camden. The crowd threatened and pressed upon the soldiers; and, in the face of this opposition, it is probable that but for the active intervention of the police force that chanced to be at this point the troops would not have been able even to form in companies. Men that had become detached from their places regained the ranks through the efforts of the police, and the march was begun.

Almost immediately there occurred an incident that is, perhaps, unique in history. Some Southern partisans produced a Confederate flag, and in a spirit of grim humor and derisive intent displayed it at the head of the soldiers, compelling them to march behind it for about the distance of two squares. This action aroused the ultra-Northern partisans in the crowd, who forthwith attacked the standard-bearers, and in two attempts partially destroyed the flag. This brought down upon the former

the wrath of the greater part of the crowd, and they sought refuge behind the Massachusetts troops, who then, by accident or design, were stoned. The attack upon the soldiers became general and one was knocked down at Fawn street. The more brutal part of the mob following set upon the wounded soldier, but he was happily rescued by the police. At the corner of Stiles and President streets, one block farther, two soldiers were knocked down by flying stones; both regained their feet, one was rescued by a police officer and the other escaped. Curiously enough, the muskets thus far lost by the soldiers were turned over to the police, who again warded off the on-pressing crowd. By this time the order to "double-quick" having been given, the soldiers were running at good speed toward the Pratt street bridge. Perhaps it was here that the first firing by the soldiers was begun; some accounts say "accidentally," others say "in a desultory manner and wildly," and still others "by command of the officers." As the troops were certainly firing at will when later they were met and accompanied by Mayor Brown, it is not improbable that they fired at will from the first and not by definite command.

The Pratt street bridge was then undergoing repairs, but the workmen had gone to their dinner, leaving joists, scantling and sawhorses half blocking the bridge. Some say that stumbling over these obstructions caused the accidental discharge of two muskets; but it seems certain that the firing of the soldiers became general shortly after the crossing of the bridge. The first citizen shot was Francis X. Ward, a young lawyer, and afterward a captain in the Confederate Army. The mob then again rushed upon the soldiers and attempted to seize their muskets. In two instances the attempt was successful, in one of which the soldier was run through with his own bayonet, said to have been thus killed by the very citizen at whom he had shot.

By this time, Mayor Brown, who, with Marshal Kane and a strong police force, had been protecting the troops at the Camden end, learned that other companies were attempting to cross the

city under a fierce attack. Sending word to Marshal Kane to follow, the Mayor hastened alone to the scene of the greatest danger. Having ordered the removal of obstructions along the route of march, he found troops running before the mob just west of the Pratt street bridge.

In his account, published in 1887, under the auspices of the Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, Mayor Brown makes the unexpected statement that, while "the uproar was furious," the mob did not seem to be a large one. This assertion would seem incredible; and yet the even more remarkable statement is made by C. W. Tailleure, in the *Boston Herald* in 1883, that there were about 250 in the attacking party at the first, and 500 was the maximum at any stage of the march. Mr. Tailleure was an eye-witness of the fray, and was then an editor on the staff of a local paper.

Whatever may have been the size of the mob it was now thoroughly angry and was pursuing the soldiers "with shouts and stones," to which the soldiers replied by firing wildly, sometimes backward over their shoulders. Immediately upon his arrival at the scene of conflict, Mayor Brown introduced himself to the captain in command, and at once objected to the double-quick as a movement likely to provoke assault. For a while the presence of the Mayor had a quieting effect, but blood had been shed, the mob was revengeful, and the attack was renewed with reckless violence. Stones flew thick and fast, and, although nearly one-tenth of the troops were killed or seriously wounded, it is remarkable that so many escaped. The soldiers continued to fire at will without orders, and entirely contrary to the instructions which Colonel Jones had given them while en route to Baltimore.

At the corner of South and Pratt streets several citizens were seen to fall, killed or wounded. At the corner of Light street, two squares to the west, a soldier fell mortally wounded, a boy on a vessel in the dock was killed and the head of the advancing column fired into a group on the sidewalk with fatal effect.

At the latter corner Mayor Brown called to the soldiers at his

side not to shoot. Then, seeing his own helplessness against further disaster, he retired from the line of march, but not before a boy in the crowd handed him a discharged musket which a soldier had dropped.

The action of the boy gave rise to the story incorporated in Colonel Jones' official report, and still in circulation, that the Mayor had " seized a musket from the hands of one of the men and killed a man therewith." The boy was in symapthy with the troops, and may have been the youth who is said to have joined the regiment during this fight, and, not only went with them to Washington, but to the war itself—if his story on record in the Maryland Historical Society and reported in Boston papers after the war, be a true one.

As above stated, the retirement of the Mayor from the head of the troops was due to his perceiving that he was helpless to protect either the soldiers or the citizens, among whom the greater loss of life fell upon non-combatants and bystanders. The soldiers seem to have fired but little and at random behind them at the pursuing mob, but in front they fired with deadly effect. Evidently the raw recruits were irresponsible from fear and shot at all citizens wherever grouped as active or potential foes.

The troops had now reached a point between Light and Charles streets. Four had been killed and 36 wounded. Eleven citizens had been killed, while an indefinite number had been more or less seriously shot in the fray. The temper of the mob had become thoroughly aroused and a third of the distance to Camden had yet to be covered before the detached companies could join their companions. They were in a critical position.

But effective intervention was now at hand, and in brief follows a chapter which will always be a bright one in the annals of the Baltimore police. About 40 bluecoats, with the gallant Marshal Kane at their head, were now seen coming from Camden Station at a run. With revolvers drawn and in good order, they quickly placed themselves in the rear of the soldiers and in front of their pursuers, Marshal Kane adding emphasis

to the action by shouting: "Keep back, men, or I shoot!" One leading rioter, a young man of excellent reputation in the community, tried to force his way through the line, but the Marshal himself stepped forward and seized him.

The fight was now ended, and, under escort of the police, the troops soon joined their comrades at Camden Station.

At the station there was much confusion, with attempts at violence. The blinds of the coaches were ordered closed by Colonel Jones, and the train started for Washington at about 1 o'clock amid the hisses and groans of the crowd. But the death record for the day was not yet complete. A well-known merchant of Baltimore was standing with two friends beside the railroad tracks at the edge of the city. As the train passed by the merchant, ignorant of the events in the city, shook his fist at the troops. He was immediately fired upon from a car window and fell forward into a small ditch, shot through and instantly killed.

News of this last casualty flew through the city, and more than all else, seemed to arouse the people. Many now rushed to the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore station, vowing vengeance. The band of the Massachusetts regiment was still at the President Street Station, together with the unarmed Pennsylvania troops. A number of these, alarmed by the increased hostility of the crowd assembling about the station, scattered through the city, some successfully seeking police protection. The remainder were sent homeward by special arrangement with the railroad company.

As the news spread the excitement was intensified. But, however much their opinions differed otherwise, all citizens seemed to be agreed on one thing—that no more troops could pass through the city without precipitating even worse bloodshed, and that immediate and decisive steps should be taken to avoid further conflict. The military was called out and Governor Hicks, Mayor Brown, S. Teackle Wallis and others addressed an immense assemblage in Monument Square.

Governor Hicks not only assented in the general opposition to

the passage of troops through Baltimore, but gave indorsement to his previously expressed vehement opposition to the raising of troops in Maryland on behalf of the Federal Government. In view of Governor Hicks' subsequent reversal of political position, it is interesting to quote him on this occasion in the following passage: "I am a Marylander; I love my State and I love the Union, but I will suffer my right arm to be torn from my body before I will raise it to strike a sister State."

Mayor Brown endeavored to quiet the citizens by informing them of the efforts of the Governor and himself to prevent the further passage of troops through the city. A letter signed by Mayor Brown and indorsed by Governor Hicks was written to President Lincoln and borne to him by Messrs. Hugh Lennox Bond, George W. Dobbin and John C. Brune, urging that the Federal troops be not sent through Baltimore.

No definite information could be obtained from the Federal authorities for nearly 24 hours. In the absence of any response, the city authorities determined upon the burning of railroad bridges in order to prevent the approach to the city of any more troops. This was accordingly ordered to be done before the eventful day ended, Governor Hicks assenting.

Early the next morning, no reply as yet having been received from Washington, the City Council assembled and appropriated $500,000 to put the city in a state of defense. Following this the banks of the city held a meeting and Bank Presidents Johns Hopkins, John Clark and Columbus O'Donnell placed this sum at the disposal of the Mayor. These proceedings were indorsed by the editors of *The Sun, American, German Correspondent, South, Exchange, Clipper* and others. More money was privately contributed in considerable sums.

Some time in the morning of the 20th the following letter was received from President Lincoln:

WASHINGTON, April 20, 1861.

Governor Hicks and Mayor Brown:

GENTLEMEN—Your letter by Messrs. Bond, Dobbin and Brune is received. I tender you my sincere thanks for your efforts in the trying situation in which you are placed. For the future troops must be brought here, but I make no point of bringing them through Baltimore.

Without any military knowledge myself, of course I must leave these details to General Scott. He hastily said this morning, in the presence of these gentlemen, "March them *around* Baltimore, and not through it."

I sincerely hope that the General, on fuller reflection will consider this practical and proper, and that you will not object to it.

By this a collision of the people of Baltimore with the troops will be avoided unless they go out of the way to seek it. I hope you will exert your influence to prevent this.

Now and ever I shall do all in my power for peace consistently with the maintenance of government.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

This letter explains itself, and Baltimore saw no further passing of troops until the city was overawed by the military power of the Federal Government, General Butler taking possession of Federal Hill on the night of May 13, in the midst of a violent storm. While no one opposed him or thought of so doing at the time, he regarded this exploit as the capture of Baltimore. He was forthwith made a major-general, and the city, by his proclamation, was placed under martial law.

Such is the story of the fight in Baltimore, April 19, 1861, and of the events which led up to it. In the telling of the story the temptation to digress from the simple narrative are most alluring, because a great number of accompanying incidents throw a powerful light on the issues and events involved. Some of these are given below. But first it may be pertinent to pre-

sent the sources whence this chapter of American history is derived. Proceeding from those based upon the specific narrative to those treating of cause and effect, the authorities are, in part:

Reminiscences in manuscript of Richard D. Fisher, J. Morrison Harris, William Platt, Henry C. Wagner, Frank X. Ward, William Keyser, and Ernest H. Wardwell, the Baltimore boy that was adopted by the Sixth Massachusetts on the day of the fight; reports of Col. Edward F. Jones, and of Marshal Kane, reports of the Baltimore and Ohio and of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroads, address of Gov. John A. Andrew at the dedication of the Ladd-Whitney monument, Lowell, Mass., June 17, 1865; the files of the Baltimore newspapers, broadsides of the day, letters of citizens of Baltimore, journal of the City Council, proceedings of the Legislatures of Maryland and Massachusetts. Accounts of eye-witnesses now living: George William Brown's "Baltimore and the 19th of April, 1861," De Francais Folsom's "Our Police," Jacob Frey's "Reminiscences of Baltimore," John W. Hanson's (chaplain Sixth Massachusetts) "Historical Sketch," Frank Moore's "The Rebellion Record," John C. Robinson (commandant Fort McHenry) article in *Magazine of American History,* September, 1885; J. Thomas Scharf's "History of Maryland" and "Chronicles of Baltimore," James Schouler's "A History of Massachusetts in the Civil War," addresses of Benjamin F. Watson, lieutenant-colonel Sixth Regiment; "The Stain at Baltimore," Charles S. Smith; Charles Francis Adams, H. A. White, A. T. Bledsoe and James Ford Rhodes, on the causes of the war; Herbert B. Adams and John Fiske, on Maryland and her part in the formation of the Union; Edward Ingle, T. P. Kettell, and Thomas H. Benton, on the protective tariff and the sectional conflict.

Among the accounts collected for the Maryland Historical Society relative to the events of the 19th is an interesting anecdote by Mr. Richard D. Fisher. Mr. Fisher saw the conflict from an upper window of a building near the corner of Pratt

and Gay streets. With him at the time was a Spanish sea captain, whose vessel was then in port. Turning to Mr. Fisher, the Spaniard remarked:

"You seem much agitated; this is nothing; we frequently have these things in Spain."

"In Spain," Mr. Fisher replied, "this may mean nothing; in America it means civil war."

Not only did the civil authorities of Baltimore journey to Washington to consult with the President in the day or two following, but it seems that delegations of citizens did likewise. In the editorial columns of *The Sun* of April 23 appeared this account of a remarkable interview with President Lincoln:

"We learn that a delegation from five of the Young Men's Christian Associations of Baltimore, consisting of six members from each, yesterday proceeded to Washington for an interview with the President, the purpose being to intercede with him in behalf of a peaceful policy and to entreat him not to pass troops through Baltimore or Maryland. Rev. Dr. Fuller, of the Baptist Church, accompanied the party by invitation as chairman.

"Our informant, however, vouches for what we now write. He states that upon the introduction they were received very cordially by Mr. Lincoln, and Dr. Fuller sought to impress upon Mr. Lincoln the vast responsibility of the position he occupied, and that upon him depended the issues of peace or war:

"'But,' said Mr. Lincoln, 'what am I to do?'

"'Why, sir, let the country know that you are disposed to recognize the independence of the Southern States and war may be averted.'

"To which Mr. Lincoln replied: 'Then, what is to become of the revenue? I shall have no government—no resources.'"

This fatherly counsel of Dr. Fuller may seem strange to us now, but issues were by no means clearly joined in April, 1861. Mr. J. Morrison Harris, a well-known citizen of Baltimore and an ardent "Union man," was one of the second committee of citizens who waited upon President Lincoln on April 20. In a

paper read before the Maryland Historical Society in later years Mr. Harris states that "Salmon P. Chase was present during the discussion at the War Office, and in talking over the conditions of affairs generally, expressed to me with much earnestness the opinion that the best way out of the difficulty would be to let the Cotton States go and trust to arrangements of amity and commerce for the preservation of peace and their ultimate return to the Union."

As given in the newspapers of the time, the list of citizens killed is as follows: Robert W. Davis, Philip S. Miles, John McCann, John McMahon, William R. Clark, James Carr, Francis Maloney, Sebastian Gill, William Maloney, William Reed, Michael Murphy, Patrick Griffith.

The Massachusetts troops, on the evening of the 19th, were quartered in the Senate chamber of the Capitol, "the herald of the mighty hosts which have since gathered to defend it," as Gov. John A. Andrew described them in the address he delivered in 1865 at the dedication of the Lowell monument raised to the soldiers killed in Baltimore. The names of those soldiers were: Sumner H. Needham, of Lawrence; Addison O. Whitney and Luther C. Ladd, of Lowell, and Charles A. Taylor, of Boston.

JONES BIBLE RECORDS

A small leather-bound book among the papers of the late Edmund Law Rogers has the following memorandum on the cover, written by him:

"The following is written by Rachel Jones, daughter of Philip Jones Junior, who must have copied it from her Great-Grandfather George Saughier's Bible."

My Dear and loving Father George Saughier, born in New port in y^{e} Isle of Wight A^{o} Dom^{n} 1600 in March.

And arrived in Virginia in Decemb^{r} 1620

And Departed this life y^e^ 24 Dec. 1684 and was buried y^e^ day following being y^e^ Christmas Day.

Margaret Saughier was born in Virginia at the trimbell Spring in the new y^e^ 11th 1646 about 6 o'clock in y^e^ morning—baptized by Mr. Grimes, minister ph^r^ Garlington and Mordecai Cook Godfather's—Mrs Fox and Mrs Dedham, Godmothers.

And married March y^e^ 5th Thomas Beson Jun. in South River, Maryland.

Thomas Besson Jun son of Thomas and Margaret Besson was born y^e^ of December A^o^ Dom. 1667 upon a Monday Night about two hours within Night.

Baptized y^e^ 22nd day of February 1673/4 by Rich. Atkinson minister. Departed this life A^o^ Dom. 1702 ult. Dec. about 1 hour within night and buried Jan y^e^ 3^d^ 1702/3

Ann Besson Daughter of Thomas and Margaret Besson was born y^e^ 26^th^ of Dec. 1670 about 4 or 5 of y^e^ clock in y^e^ morning—baptized y^e^ 22 of Feb 1673/4 by Richard Atkinson, Minister.

Married y^e^ 26 of October 1697 to Mr. Richard Cromwell of Baltimore county and was delivered of a son y^e^ 15 August about one of y^e^ clock in y^e^ morning 1698 and departed this life the 29^th^ August 1698.

Margaret Besson daughter of Thomas and Margaret Besson was born y^e^ 31^st^ of Jan 1673/4 between 12 and 1 of y^e^ night—baptized y^e^ 22^d^ Feb 1673/4 by Rich. Atkinson, Minister.

Married y^e^ 30^th^ Dec. 1701 to Mr. Jno. Rattenbury and delivered of a still child y^e^ 26^th^ day of Dec. 1702

Hannah Rattenbury daughter of John and Margaret Rattenbury was born the 30^th^ of October Anno Dom^n^. 1704 about eleven o'clock in the morning.

Ann Rattenbury daughter of John and Margaret Rattenbury was Born October 20^th^ 1706 about two o'clock in the morning.

Nicholas Besson son of Thomas and Margaret Besson was born y^e^ 22^d^ of Dec 1677.

My Dear and Loving Mother Margaret Rattenbury departed

this life 22nd Jany 1740 and being on a Thursday night about 12 o'clock and was buried ye third day of February at Mr Philip Jones in Patapsco Neck.

John Rattenbury son of John and Margaret Rattenbury departed this life March ye 30 1745.

Elizabeth Besson Daughter of Thomas and Margaret Beson was born ye last of 1683.

Nicholas Crumwell, son of Rich Crumwell and Anne his wife was born ye 15th of August 1698 about one of ye clock in ye morning and dyed the 10th of July 1715.

John Rattenbury son of John and Margarett Rattenbury was born Sept. 12 1708 about 4 of ye clock in ye afternoon.

Hannah Rattenbury was married to John Cromwell ye 23 day of August 1723.

Margaret Cromwell Daughter of John and Hannah Cromwell was born ye 21 day of August 1724 and departed this life 6 day of November, 1740, it being on a friday night and was buried 10 day of ye month at Curtis Creek.

John Cromwell son of John and Hannah Cromwell was born February 11th day about 1 o'clock in ye morning in ye year of our Lord 1726.

Hannah Cromwell daughter of ye above John and Hannah was born ye first day of April in the year of our Lord 1729.

Ann Cromwell daughter of ye above was born ye fifth day of November in the year of our Lord 1733.

Philip Jones and Anne Rattenbury was married the 2nd day of October 1727.

Henrietta Jones, daughter of the above was born the 19 day of August 1728 died in Baltimore.

Philip Jones son of the above was born 2d day of March 1729.

Rattenbury Jones 2d son of the above was Born the 3d of March 1735

Rachel Jones, 2d daughter of the above was Born 22nd of April 1731—died in Burlington N. Jersey.

Thomas Jones 3d son of the above was born the 12 of March 1735.

Nichs. Jones 4th son of the above was born the 12th May 1737 (died)

Hannah Jones Daughter to Philip and Anne Jones was born 4th March 1740 (died)

Anne Jones Daughter to the above was born on the 4th of August 1746

John Jones Last son and child of the above was born the 12th of Aug. 1748 (died)

Philip Jones son of the above Philip and Anne Jones, died the 4 of Oct. 1749 (died in Baltimore.)

Rattenbury Jones 2nd son of the above Philip and Anne Jones died in Antigua the 11 of Sep. 1754 new stile.

My Dear and loving Father Philip Jones, Departed this life the 22 of Dec 1761 between the hours of eight and nine in the morn—aged 60 years 2 months, 6 days.

My Dear and loving Mother Anne Jones departed this life the fifth Day of March 1763 betwixt the hours of 8 and 9 at night aged 56 years, five months wanting one day.

Rachel Jones.

John Jones last son of the above named Philip and Anne Jones died in Christopher, in the West Indies on his return from Grenada to Antigua where he had been to sell a cargo consigned to him, aged about 35 years.

John Worthington, son of William Worthington and Hannah his wife, was born November the 1735.

Thos. Worthington son of the above William and Hannah was Born the 25th of October 1740

William Worthington, son of the above William and Hannah was born in September 1737.

Hellen Worthington Daughter of the above William and Hannah was Born April ye 7th 1743.

NOTES AND CORRECTIONS

Corrigendum.

Vol. xiii, p. 323, "Old Mr. Devereux" was John Devereux, father of Thomas P. Devereux (A. B., Yale, 1813). See Yale Biographies, Vol. vi, p. 548, by Franklin P. Dexter, who calls attention to the incorrect identification of Thomas P. Devereux made in the *Magazine.*

Cromwell Family.

Correction.

In the December, 1918, issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (Vol. xiii, p. 397), a clause in the will of John Cromwell of Wiltshire, was inadvertently omitted. It follows certain bequests to his wife, Edith Cromwell, and reads thus:

"To my sonne Thomas, the Halle w'the the chamber over wherein Ellinor the wife of Phillipp Cromwell my sonne now dwelleth and also the lofte over the noste and 2 best kine next to those given my wife, one halfe hundred of cheese and 4 bushells of malte and one halfe householde stuffe not already given."

On page 399, lines 4 and 7, *Richard Cromwell* should be, *Philip Cromwell.*

Francis B. Culver.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

*Died, 1918.

HONORARY MEMBERS

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MARDEN, R. G. (1902) ..... 13 Leinster Gardens, London, Eng.

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CALVERT, CHARLES EXLEY (1911) ..... 34 Huntly St., Toronto, Canada.
HILLS, MRS. WILLIAM SMITH (1914) .. Care of Mrs. D. E. Waters, Grand Rapids, Mich.
HOWARD, MISS ELIZABETH GRAY (1916) .. 901 St. Paul Street.
NICHOLSON, ISAAC F. (1884) ..... Albion Hotel.
NORRIS, ISAAC T. (1865) ..... 1224 Madison Ave.
ZWINGE, JOSEPH, S. J ..... Loyola College.
WILLIAMS, MISS NELLIE C ..... 814 Riverside Drive, N. Y. City.

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BIXBY, WM. K. (1907) ..... King's Highway and Lindell Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
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BROCK, R. A. (1875) ..... 257 21st St., Philadelphia, Pa.
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HALL, HUBERT (1904) ..... Public Record Office, London.

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LAMPSON, OLIVER LOCKER (1908).... New Haven Court, Cromer, Norfolk, England.
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OWEN, THOMAS M. (1899).....Montgomery, Ala.
RILEY, E. S. (1875)..... 234 Prince George St., Annapolis, Md.
SNOWDEN, YATES (1881).....University of S. C., Columbia, S. C.
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WEEKS, STEPHEN B. (1893).....Bureau of Education, Wash., D. C.
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WOOD, HENRY C. (1902).....Harrodsburg, Ky.

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FLOWER, JOHN SEBASTIAN (1909).....611 18th St., Denver, Colorado.

FOY, MISS MARY E. (1913).....Box 90, R. D. No. 1, Los Angeles,Cal.
GIFFORD, W. L. R. (1906).....St. Louis Merc. Lib. Assoc., Mo.
GOBRIGHT, MRS. FRANCIS M. (1917)....213 Park Road, Carnegie, Pa.
GORDON, MRS. BURGESS LEE (1916)....601 7th Ave., Spokane, Wash.
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HENRY, MRS. EFFIE L. (1917).....3019 N St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
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HOPKINS, SAMUEL GOVER (1911).....923 Chestnut St., Phila., Pa.
JANIN, MRS. VIOLET BLAIR (1916)....12 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.
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LAKE, RICHARD P. (1900).....Bank of Commerce, Memphis, Tenn.
LEACH, MISS MAY ATHERTON (1907)....2118 Spruce St., Phila., Pa.
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MCFADDEN, CHAS. (1906).....40 Walnut St., Phila., Pa.
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MORSE, WILLARD S. (1908).....Seaford, Del.
MOSS, JESSE L. (1906).....Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.
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RAYNER, WILLIAM B. (1914).....2641 Connecticut Ave., Wash., D. C.
ROGERS, JAMES S. (1910).....Adamstown, Md.
SCOTT, MISS CORINNE LEE (1918).....52 E. 54th St., New York City.
SELLMAN, JOHN HENRY (1917).....38 Beechcroft Rd., Newton, Mass.
SHEIB, S. H. (1907).....Sonora, N. C.
SPENCER, JOHN THOMPSON (1907).....1507 Spruce St., Phila., Pa.
STEVENSON, GEO. URIE (1915).....1600 Broadway, New York City.
STEWART, FOSTER (1917)..... Care Universal Film Mfg. Co., 106 N. F St., Wellington, Kan.
THRUSTON, R. C. BALLARD (1917).....Columbia Building, Louisville, Ky.
WILLIAMS, MISS LOUISA STEWART (1916) ..... Care Winslow Pierce, Bayville, L. I., N. Y.
WILSON, SAMUEL M. (1907).....Trust Co. Building, Lexington, Ky.

ACTIVE MEMBERS

Where no P. O. Address is given, Baltimore is understood.

ABERCROMBIE, DR. RONALD L. (1916)...18 W. Franklin St.
AGNUS, FELIX (1883).....American Office.
ALBERT, TALBOT J. (1917).....Stafford Hotel.
AMES, JOSEPH S. (1910).....Charlcote Place, Guilford.
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ANDREWS, C. MCLEAN, PH. D. (1907)...Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.
ANDREWS, MATTHEW PAGE (1911).....849 Park Ave.
APPOLD, LEMUEL T. (1902).....Care of Colonial Trust Co.
ARMISTEAD, GEORGE (1907).....1025 Cathedral St.
ATKINSON, ALFRED (1917).....106 South St.
ATKINSON, ROBERT A. (1914).....7 Clay St.
ATWOOD, WILLIAM O. (1917).....18 E. Lexington St.

BAGBY, GEORGE P., JR. (1916).....716 Continental Bldg.
BAILY, G. FRANK (1908).....1025 St. Paul St.
BAKER, J. HENRY (1910).....225 Law Bldg.
BAKER, WILLIAM G. (1916).....Care of Baker, Watts & Co.
BALDWIN, SUMMERFIELD (1899).....1006 N. Charles St.
BALL, SARA JANET (1918).....De Vere Pl., Ellicott City, Md.
BARCLAY, MRS. D. H. (1906).....14 E. Franklin St.
BARRETT, HENRY C. (1902).....“The Severn.”
BARROLL, HOPE H. (1902).....Chestertown, Md.
BARROLL, L. WETHERED (1910).....609 Keyser Bldg.
BARROLL, MORRIS KEENE (1917).....Chestertown, Md.
BARRY, SAMUEL H., (1916).....715 Greenmount Ave.
BARTLETT, J. KEMP (1900).....2100 Mt. Royal Ave.
BARTON, RANDOLPH (1882).....207 N. Calvert St.
BARTON, RANDOLPH, JR. (1915).....207 N. Calvert St.
BASSETT, MRS. CHAS. WESLEY (1909)..2947 St. Paul St.
BAYARD, RICHARD H. (1914).....707 Gaither Estate Bldg.
BAYLESS, WM. H. (1915).....1101-2 Fidelity Building.
BEACHAM, ROBERT J. (1914).....Emerson Tower Bldg.
BEALMEAR, HERMAN (1916).....1610 W. Lanvale St.
BEATSON, J. HERBERT (1914).....Fidelity Trust Co.
BEATTY, MRS. PHILIP ASFORDBY (1910).229 E. North Ave.
BECK, HOWARD C. (1918).....3222 Elgin Ave.
BENJAMIN, ROLAND (1915).....Fidelity and Trust Co. of Md.
BENSON, CARVILLE D. (1913).....1301 Fidelity Building.
BENSON, CHAS. HODGES (1915).....515 N. Carrollton Ave.
BERKELEY, HENRY J., M. D. (1906)....1305 Park Ave.
BERRY, MISS CHRISTIANA D. (1907)....322 Hawthorne Road, Roland Park.
*BERRY, JASPER M., JR. (1907).....225 St. Paul St.
BERRY, THOMAS L. (1909).....702 Fidelity Building.
BEVAN, H. CROMWELL (1902).....10 E. Lexington St.

BIBBINS, ARTHUR BARNEVELD (1910)...2600 Maryland Ave.
BIBBINS, MRS. A. B. (1906).....2600 Maryland Ave.
BICKNELL, REV. JESSE R. (1910).....117 W. Mulberry St.
BILLSTEIN, NATHAN (1898).....The Lord Balto. Press.
BIRCKHEAD, P. MACAULAY (1884).....Chamber of Commerce.
BISHOP, WILLIAM R. (1916).....5 E. 27th St.
BIXLER, DR. W. H. H. (1916).....418 N. Potomac St., Hagerstown, Md.
BLACK, H. CRAWFORD (1902).....1113-17 Fidelity Bldg.
BLACK, VAN LEAR (1902).....1113-17 Fidelity Bldg.
BLACKFORD, EUGENE (1916).....200-4 Chamber of Commerce.
BLAKE, GEORGE A. (1893).....301 Law Bldg.
BLAND, J. R. (1902).....U. S. Fidelity & Guaranty Co.
BONAPARTE, CHAS. J., LL. D. (1883)....601 Park Ave.
BOND, CARROLL T. (1916).....1125 N. Calvert St.
BOND, G. MORRIS (1907).....315 P. O. Building.
BOND, MISS ISABELLA M. (1918).....1420 Bolton St.
BOND, JAMES A. C. (1902).....Westminster, Md.
BOND, THOMAS E. (1910).....726 Reservoir St.
BONSAL, LEIGH (1902).....511 Calvert Building.
BORDLEY, DR. JAMES, JR. (1914).....201 Professional Bldg.
BOSLEY, MRS. ARTHUR LEE (1912).....1406 Mt. Royal Ave.
BOULDIN, MRS. CHAS. NEWTON (1916)..The Homewood Apts.
BOWDOIN, HENRY J. (1890).....1000 Maryland Trust Bldg.
BOWDOIN, MRS. WM. GRAHAM (1916)...1106 N. Charles St.
BOWDOIN, W. GRAHAM, JR. (1909).....401 Maryland Trust Building.
BOWEN, HERBERT H. (1915).....American Office.
BOWEN, JESSE N. (1916).....825 Equitable Building.
BOWERS, JAMES W., JR. (1909).....16 E. Lexington St.
BOWERS, THOMAS D. (1916).....Chestertown, Md.
BOWIE, CLARENCE K. (1916).....3020 N. Calvert St.
BOYCE, FRED. G., JR., (1916).....11 E. Chase St.
BOYCE, HEYWARD E. (1912).....3 N. Calvert St.
BOYDEN, GEORGE A. (1911).....Mt. Washington.
BRADFORD, SAMUEL WEBSTER (1916)....Belair, Md.
BRANDT, MISS MINNIE (1908).....11 E. Read St.
BRATTAN, J. Y. (1902).....American Office.
BRENT, MRS. ALICE HARRIS (1916)....The St. Paul Apts.
BRENT, MISS IDA S. (1900).....1116 Bolton St.
BRENT, ROBERT F. (1908).....10 E. Lexington St.
BROWN, ALEXANDER (1902).....712 Cathedral St.
BROWN, EDWIN H., JR. (1904).....Centreville, Md.
BROWN, FRANK (1896).....16 W. Saratoga St.
BROWN, JOHN W. (1890).....201 Ridgewood Rd., Roland Park.
BROWN, KIRK (1897).....1813 N. Caroline St.
*BROWN, MRS. LYDIA B. (1902).....1412 Bolton St.
BROWN, MRS. WILLIAM T. (1916).....Chestertown, Md.
BROWNE, ARTHUR LEE (1913).....215 E. Fayette St.

BROWNE, B. BERNARD, M. D. (1892)....510 Park Ave.
BROWNE, REV. LEWIS BEEMAN (1907)...St. John's R't'y, Havre de Grace, Md.
BRUCE, OLIVER H. (1913).....Westernport, Allegany Co., Md.
BRUCE, OLIVER H., JR., (1913).....Cumberland, Md.
BRUCE, W. CABELL (1909).....8 W. Mt. Vernon Place.
BRUNE, H. M. (1902).....841 Calvert Building.
BUCHANAN, THOMAS GITTINGS (1917)..116 Chamber of Commerce.
BUCKLER, THOMAS H., M. D. (1913)....1201 St. Paul St.
BURGAN, REV. H. W. (1910).....Annapolis, Md.
BURTON, PAUL GIBSON (1913).....108 E. Lexington St.
BUZBY, S. STOCKTON (1902).....1214 St. Paul St.

CALDWELL, CHARLES C. (1917).....Liberty Grove, Md.
CALWELL, JAMES S. (1911).....220 St. Paul St.
CAREY, JAMES (1913).....2220 N. Charles St.
CAREY, JAMES (1917).....838 Park Ave.
CAREY, JOHN E. (1893)....."The Cedars," Walbrook.
CARROLL, CHAS. BANCROFT (1915).....Doughoregan Manor, Howard Co., Md.
CARROLL, DOUGLAS GORDON (1913).....The Washington Apt.
CARY, WILSON MILES (1915).....18 E. Eager St.
CATOR, FRANKLIN P. (1914).....13-15 W. Baltimore St.
CATOR, GEORGE (1911).....803 St. Paul St.
CATOR, SAMUEL B. (1900).....711 N. Howard St.
CHAPMAN, JAMES W. JR. (1916).....2016 Park Ave.
CHAPMAN, W. J. (1916).....2306 Eutaw Place.
CHESTNUT, W. CALVIN (1897).....1137 Calvert Building.
CLARK, MISS ANNA E. B. (1914).....The St. Paul Apartments.
CLOSE, PHILIP H. (1916).....Belair, Md.
COAD, J. F. (1907).....Charlotte Hall, Md.
COALE, W. E. (1908).....109 Chamber of Commerce.
COCKEY, EDWARD A. (1917).....Glyndon, Md.
COHEN, MISS BERTHA (1908).....415 N. Charles St.
COHEN, MISS ELEANOR S. (1917).....The Latrobe.
COLEMAN, WILLIAM C. (1916).....16 E. Eager St.
COLGAN, EDWARD J., JR. (1915).....330 E. 22d St.
COLSTON, FREDERICK M. (1911).....3 N. Calvert St.
COLSTON, GEORGE A. (1914).....3 N. Calvert St.
COONAN, EDWARD V. (1907).....121 W. Lafayette Ave.
COOPER, MISS H. FRANCES (1909).....1415 Linden Ave.
COOPER, J. CROSSAN (1912).....Stock Exchange Building.
COPPER, WILLIAM B. (1916).....Chestertown, Md.
COBBIN, MRS. JOHN W. (1898).....2208 N. Charles St.
CORNER, GEO. W. (1917).....Hopkins Pl. and German St.
CORNER, THOMAS C. (1913).....269 W. Biddle St.
COTTEN, BRUCE (1912).....Cylburn, Sta. L., Mt. Wash.
COTTMAN, J. HOUGH (1885).....812 Keyser Building.
COTTMAN, THOMAS E. (1917).....Chattolanee, Md.

COTTON, MRS. JANE BALDWIN (1896) ... 239 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.
COWAN, DAVID PINKNEY (1915) ..... 1602 Eutaw Pl.
CRAIN, ROBERT (1902) ..... 17th floor, Munsey Bldg., Wash., D. C.
CRAPSTER, ERNEST R. (1916) ..... 15 E. Saratoga St.
CRANWELL, J. H. (1895) ..... Waynesboro, Pa.
CROMWELL, B. FRANK (1918) ..... 401 Garrett Bldg.
CROMWELL, MRS. W. KENNEDY (1916) .. Lake Roland.
CROSS, JOHN EMORY (1912) ..... 209 Oakdale Rd., Roland Park.
CULVER, FRANCIS BARNUM (1910) ..... 2203 N. Charles St.

DABNEY, DR. WILLIAM M. (1916) ..... Ruxton, Md.
DALLAM, RICHARD (1897) ..... Belair, Md.
DALSHEIMER, SIMON (1909) ..... The Lord Baltimore Press.
DANDRIDGE, MISS ANNE S. (1893) ..... 18 W. Hamilton St.
DASHIELL, BENJ. J. (1914) ..... Athol Terrace, P. O. Station.
DASHIELL, N. LEEKE, M. D. (1904) ..... 2927 St. Paul St.
DAUGHERTY, WILLIAM GRANT (1893) ... 505 Maryland Trust Building.
DAVIS, DR. J. STAIGE (1916) ..... 1200 Cathedral St.
DAVIS, SEPTIMUS (1907) ..... Aberdeen, Md.
DAVISON, GEORGE W. (1877) ..... 11th floor, Garrett Building.
DAWKINS, WALTER I. (1902) ..... 1119 Fidelity Building.
DAWSON, WILLIAM H. (1892) ..... Law Building.
DAY, MISS MARY F. (1907) ..... Bradshaw, Md.
DEAN, MARY, M. D. (1913) ..... 901 N. Calvert St.
DEEMS, CLARENCE (1913) ..... The Plaza.
DEFORD, B. F. (1914) ..... Calvert and Lombard Street.
DEFORD, MRS. B. FRANK, (1916) ..... Riderwood, Md.
DENNIS, JAMES U. (1907) ..... 2 E. Lexington St.
DENNIS, SAMUEL K. (1905) ..... 2 E. Lexington St.
DENNY, JAMES W. (1915) ..... 1900 Linden Ave.
DICKEY, CHARLES H. (1902) ..... Maryland Meter Company, Guilford Av. and Saratoga St.
DICKEY, EDMUND S. (1914) ..... Maryland Meter Company.
DIELMAN, LOUIS H. (1905) ..... Peabody Institute.
DOBLER, JOHN J. (1898) ..... 114 Court House.
DODSON, HERBERT K. (1909) ..... 2206 N. Charles St.
DONNELLY, WILLIAM J. (1916) ..... Commerce and Water Sts.
DOYLE, JAMES T. (1916) ..... 204 Augusta Ave. Irvington.
DUFFY, HENRY (1916) ..... 135 W. Lanvale St.
DUGAN, HAMMOND J. (1916) ..... 16 E. Lexington St.
DUKE, W. BERNARD (1909) ..... Seaboard Bk., Chas. & Preston Sts.
DUKE, MRS. KATHERINE MARIA (1908) .. Riderwood, Md.
DULANEY, HENRY S. (1915) ..... Charles St. and Forest Aves.
DUNTON, WM. RUSH, JR., M. D. (1902) .. Towson, Md.
DUVALL, RICHARD M. (1902) ..... 16 E. Lexington St.

EARLE, SWEPSON (1916).....512 Munsey Building.
EASTER, ARTHUR MILLER (1918).....2410 N. Charles St.
EATON, PAUL, M. D. (1917).....1306 W. Lexington St.
ELLICOTT, CHARLES E. (1918).....Melvale, Md.
ELLIOTT, MRS. LILY TYSON (1915).....522 Park Ave.
ELMER, LEWIS S. (1916).....2011 Callow Ave.
EVANS, H. G. (1918).....818 University Parkway.

FAHNESTOCK, ALBERT (1912).....2503 Madison Ave.
FALCONER, CHAS. E. (1915).....1630 Bolton St.
FAURE, AUGUSTE (1916)..... { 115 E. Magnolia Ave., Wildwood, N. J.
FENHAGEN, G. CORNER (1918).....11 E. Pleasant St.
FERGUSON, J. HENRY (1902).....Colonial Trust Co.
FIELD, S. S. (1918).....220 St. Paul St.
FISHER, D. K. E. (1916).....1301 Park Ave.
FISHER, MISS GRACE W. (1907).....1610 Park Ave.
FITCHETT, THOMAS H. (1916).....Merc. Trust and Deposit Co.
FORD, MISS SARAH M. (1916).....1412 N. St., N. W., Wash'n, D. C.
FOSTER E. EDMUNDS (1917).....924 Equitable Bldg.
FOSTER, MRS. E. EDMUNDS (1917).....23 E. 22nd St.
FOSTER, MRS. REUBEN (1909).....3507 N. Charles St.
FRANCE, DR. JOSEPH I. (1916).....15 W. Mt. Vernon Place.
FRANCE, MRS. J. I. (1910).....15 W. Mt. Vernon Place.
FREEMAN, BERNARD (1916).....Orkney Road, Govans, Md.
FREEMAN, J. DOUGLAS (1914).....Orkney Road, Govans, Md.
FREEMAN, MRS. JULIUS W. (1917)....2731 St. Paul St.
FRICK, GEORGE ARNOLD (1914).....906 Maryland Trust Bldg.
FRICK, J. SWAN (1895).....Guilford.
FRICK, JOHN W. (1916).....835 University Parkway.
FRIEZ, JULIEN M. (1917).....The Homewood.
FRIEZ, LUCIEN L. (1917).....The Homewood.
FURST, FRANK A. (1914).....Liberty Road and Chestnut Ave.
FURST, J. HENRY (1915).....23 S. Hanover St.

GAGE, MRS. EMMA ABBOTT (1911).....Annapolis, Md.
*GAITHER, THOMAS H. (1892).....815 Gaither Building.
GAITHER, THOMAS H., JR. (1916).....508 Cathedral St.
GALLAGHER, MRS. HELEN M. P. (1916)..1017 N. Calvert St.
GAMBEL, MRS. THOS. B. (1915).....2017 St. Paul St.
GANTT, MRS. HARRY BALDWIN (1915)...Millersville, Md.
GARDINER, ASA BIRD, JR. (1912).....520 N. Calvert St.
GARDNER, P. H. (1917)..... { Special Agent in Charge Custom House, New Orleans, La.
GARNETT, J. MERCER (1916).....1239 Calvert Building.
GARRETT, JOHN W. (1898).....Garrett Building.
GARRETT, ROBERT (1898).....Garrett Building.
GARRETT, MRS. T. HARRISON (1913)...."Evergreen" Charles St. Ave.

GARY, E. STANLEY (1913).....722 Equitable Building.
GARY, JAMES A. (1892).....1200 Linden Ave.
GAULT, MATTHEW (1914).....1422 Park Ave.
GIBBS, JOHN S., JR. (1914).....1026 N. Calvert St.
GIBSON, W. HOPPER (1902).....Centreville, Md.
GIRDWOOD, ALLAN C. (1916).....Union Trust Building.
GITTINGS, JAMES C. (1911).....613 St. Paul St.
GITTINGS, JOHN S. (1885).....605 Keyser Building.
GLENN, JOHN, JR. (1915).....12 St. Paul St.
GLENN, JOHN M. (1905).....136 E. 19th St., New York, N. Y.
GLENN, REV. WM. LINDSAY (1905).....Emmorton, Md.
GOLDSBOROUGH, A. S. (1914).....2712 St. Paul St.
GOLDSBOROUGH, CHARLES (1908).....924 St. Paul St.
GOLDSBOROUGH, LOUIS P. (1914).....35 W. Preston St.
GOLDSBOROUGH, MURRAY LLOYD (1913)..Easton, Md.
GOLDSBOROUGH, PHILLIPS LEE (1915)...7 Midvale Road, Roland Park.
GOODNOW, DR. FRANK J. (1916).....Johns Hopkins University.
GOODRICH, G. CLEM (1916).....110 E. Redwood St.
GORDON, MRS. DOUGLAS H. (1916)....1009 N. Charles St.
*GORDON, DOUGLAS H. (1896).....25 E. Baltimore St.
GORE, CLARENCE S., D. D. S. (1902).....1006 Madison Ave.
GORTER, JAMES P. (1902).....128 Court House.
GOSNELL, FRANK (1917).....700 Md. Trust Building.
GOUCHER, JOHN F., D. D. (1908).....2313 St. Paul St.
GOUGH, MRS. I. PIKE (1916).....1730 St. Paul St.
GOULD, CLARENCE P. (1908).....Univ. of Wooster, Wooster, Ohio.
GRACE, JOHN W. (1917).....1227 Linden Ave.
GRAHAM, ALBERT D. (1915).....Citizens' National Bank.
GRAVES, MISS EMILY E. (1916).....304 W. Monument St.
GREENWAY, MISS ELIZABETH W. (1917).2322 N. Charles St.
GREENWAY, WILLIAM H. (1886).....2322 N. Charles St.
GREGG, MAURICE (1886).....719 N. Charles St.
GRESHAM, MRS. THOS. BAXTER.....815 Park Ave.
GRIEVES, CLARENCE J., D. D. S. (1904)..201 W. Madison St.
GRIFFIS, MRS. MARGARET ABELL (1913).702 Cathedral St.
GRIFFITH, MRS. MARY W. (1890).....Stoneleigh Court, Wash., D. C.
GRINDALL, DR. CHARLES S. (1916).....5 E. Franklin St.
GRISWOLD, B. HOWELL, JR. (1913).....Alex. Brown & Sons.

HABIGHURST, MRS. CHAS. F. (1916)....1620 Bolton St.
HAMAN, B. HOWARD (1912).....1137 Calvert Bldg.
HAMBLETON, MRS. F. S. (1907).....Hambledune, Lutherville, Md.
HAMBLETON, T. EDWARD (1914).....Hambleton & Co., 8 S. Calvert St.
HAMMOND, EDWARD M. (1914).....803 Union Trust Bldg.
HAMMOND, JOHN MARTIN (1911).... { 203 W. Walnut Lane, Germantown, Pa.
HANCE, MRS. TABITHA J. (1916).....2330 Eutaw Place.

HANCOCK, JAMES E. (1907).....2122 St. Paul St.
HANN, SAMUEL M. (1915).....108 E. Elmhurst Rd., Roland Park.
HANSON, MRS. AQUILLA B. (1907).....Ruxton, Md.
HARLAN, HENRY D., LL. D. (1894).....Fidelity Building.
HARLAN, WILLIAM H. (1916)..... Belair, Md.
HARLEY, CHAS. F. (1915).....Title Building.
*HARLOW, JAMES H. (1916).....Darlington, Md.
HARRINGTON, EMERSON C. (1916).....Annapolis, Md.
HARRIS, W. HALL (1883).....Title Building.
HARRIS, WILLIAM BARNEY (1918).....Ten Hills.
HARRIS, WM. HUGH (1914).....1219 Linden Ave.
HARRISON, GEORGE (1915).....1615 Eutaw Pl.
HARRISON, J. EDWARD (1915).....1601 Linden Ave.
HART, ROBERT S. (1915).....Fidelity Building.
HAYDEN, WILLIAM M. (1878).....Eutaw Savings Bank.
HAYWARD, WILLIAM H. (1918).....110 Commerce St.
HAYWARD, F. SIDNEY (1897).....Harwood Ave., Govans, Md.
HENDERSON, ROBERT R. (1918).....Cumberland, Md.
HENRY, J. WINFIELD (1902).....107 W. Monument St.
HENRY, MRS. ROBERTA B. (1914)..... Waterbury, Md.
HENRY, W. LAIRD (1915).....Cambridge, Md.
HILKEN, H. G. (1889).....4 Bishop's Road, Guilford.
HILL, JOHN PHILIP (1899).....712 Keyser Building.
HINKLEY, JOHN (1900).....215 N. Charles St.
HISKY, THOMAS FOLEY (1888).....215 N. Charles St.
HOBBS, GUSTAVUS WARFIELD (1917)....Editorial Dept., The Sun.
HODGDON, MRS. ALEXANDER L. (1915)...Pearsons, St. Mary's Co., Md.
HODGES, MRS. MARGARET R. (1903)..142 Duke of Gloucester St., Annapolis, Md.
HODSON, EUGENE W. (1916).....Care of Thomas & Thompson.
HOFFMAN, J. HENRY, D.D.S. (1914)....1807 N. Charles St.
HOFFMAN, R. CURZON (1896).....1300 Continental Trust Building.
HOLLANDER, JACOB H., PH. D. (1895)..1802 Eutaw place.
HOLLOWAY, CHARLES T. (1915)..... Normandie Heights, Md.
HOLLOWAY, MRS. R. ROSS (1918).....Normandie Heights, Md.
HOMER, CHARLES C., JR. (1909).....Mt. Washington.
HOMER, FRANCIS T. (1900).....40 Wall St., New York, N. Y.
HOMER, MRS. JANE ABELL (1909).....Riderwood, Baltimore Co.
HOPKINS, JOHN HOWARD (1911).....Sta. E, Mt. Washington Heights.
HORSEY, JOHN P. (1911).....649 Title Building.
HOWARD, CHARLES MCHENRY (1902)....1409 Continental Trust Building.
HOWARD, CHARLES MORRIS (1907).....901 St. Paul St.
HOWARD, HARRY C. (1907).....939 St. Paul St.
HOWARD, JOHN D. (1917).....209 W. Monument St.
HOWARD, MCHENRY (1881).....901 St. Paul St.
HOWARD, WM. ROSS (1916).....Guilford Ave. and Pleasant St.
HUBBARD, WILBUR W. (1915).....Keyser Building.

HUGHES, ADRIAN (1895).....4104 Maine Ave, West Forest Pk.
HUGHES, THOMAS (1886).....1018 Cathedral St.
HULL, MISS A. E. E. (1904).....The Arundel.
HUME, EDGAR ERSKINE, M. D. (1913)..Johns Hopkins Club.
HUMRICHOUSE, HARRY H. (1918).....465 Potomac Ave., Hagerstown, Md.
HUNTER W. CARROLL (1916).....White Hall, Md.
HUNTING, E. B. (1905).....705 Calvert Building.
HURD, HENRY M., M. D. (1902).....1023 St. Paul St.
HURST, CHARLES W. (1914).....24 E. Preston St.
HURST, J. J. (1902).....Builders' Exchange.
HYDE, ENOCH PRATT (1906).....223 W. Monument St.
HYDE, GEO. W. (1906).....225 E. Baltimore St.

IGLEHART, FRANCIS N. (1914).....14 E. Lexington St.
IGLEHART, IREDELL W. (1916).....10 S. Calvert St.
IGLEHART, JAMES D., M. D. (1893)....211 W. Lanvale St.
IGLEHART, MRS. JAMES D. (1913).....211 W. Lanvale St.
IJAMS, MRS. GEORGE W. (1913).....4509 Liberty Heights Ave.
INGLE, EDWARD (1882).....The Cecil.
INGLE, WILLIAM (1909).....1710 Park Ave.

JACKSON, MRS. GEORGE S. (1910).....34 W. Biddle St.
JACOBS, MRS. HENRY BARTON (1916)..11 W. Mt. Vernon Place.
JACOBS, HENRY BARTON, M. D. (1903)..11 W. Mt. Vernon Place.
JAMAR, DR. J. H. (1916).....Elkton, Md.
JAMES, NORMAN (1903).....Catonsville, Md.
JENKINS, E. AUSTIN (1880).....1300 St. Paul St.
JENKINS, GEORGE C. (1883).....16 Abell Building.
JENKINS, THOS. W. (1885).....1521 Bolton St.
JOHNSON, J. ALTHEUS (1915).....Seat Pleasant, Prince Geo. Co., Md.
JOHNSON, J. HEMSLEY (1916).....225 W. Monument St.
JOHNSTONE, MISS EMMA E. (1910)....855 Park Ave.
JONES, ARTHUR LAFAYETTE (1911)... Care of J. S. Wilson Co., Calvert Building.
JONES, ELIAS, M. D. (1902).....Custom House.
JONES, T. BARTON (1914).....1213-14 Fidelity Bldg.
JUDIK, MRS. J. HENRY (1918).....1428 Madison Ave.

KARR, HARRY E. (1913).....1301 Fidelity Bldg.
KEECH, EDW. P., JR. (1909).....900-901 Maryland Trust Bldg.
KEENE, MISS MARY HOLLINGSWORTH (1917) ..... 8 W. Hamilton St.
KEIDEL, GEO. C., PH. D. (1912).....300 E. Capitol St., Wash't'n, D. C.
KENNEDY, JOSEPH P. (1915).....Charles and Wells Sts.
KEYS, MISS JANE G. (1905).....208 E. Lanvale St.
KEYSER, MRS. MARY WASHINGTON (1894) ..... 104 W. Monument St.
KEYSER, R. BRENT (1894).....910 Keyser Building.

KEYSER, W. IRVINE (1917).....206-7 Keyser Building.
KILPATRICK, MRS. REBECCA H. (1917)..1027 St. Paul St.
KIRK, HENRY C. (1908).....207 Longwood Road, Roland Park.
KIRK, MRS. HENRY C. (1917).....207 Longwood Road, Roland Park.
KIRKLAND, OGDEN A. (1889).....Belcamp, Md.
KLINEFELTER, MRS. EMILY HENDRIX (1915) ..... } Chestertown, Md.
KNAPP, CHARLES H. (1916).....1418 Fidelity Building.
*KNOTT, A. LEO (1894).....Stafford Hotel.
KOCH, CHARLES J. (1905).....2915 E. Baltimore St.
KNAPP, CHARLES H. (1914).....Fidelity Bldg.
KNOX, J. H. MASON, JR., M. D. (1909)..The Severn Apts.
KOONTZ, MISS MARY G. (1917).....307 Augusta Ave., Irvington, Md.

LACY, BENJAMIN (1914).....1630 Linden Ave.
LANAHAN, MRS. CHAS. M. (1915).....Washington Apartments.
LANKFORD, H. F. (1893).....Princess Anne, Md.
LATANÉ, JOHN HOLLADAY, PH. D., LL. D. (1913) Johns Hopkins Univ.
LEAKIN, J. WILSON (1902).....814 Fidelity Building.
LEDERER, LEWIS J. (1916).....Marine Bank Building.
LEE, H. C. (1903).....Franklin Bldg.
LEE, JOHN L. G. (1916).....511 Calvert Building.
LEE, RICHARD LAWS (1896).....232 St. Paul St.
LEGG, JOHN C., JR. (1916).....110 E. Redwood St.
LEHR, ROBERT OLIVER (1916).....302 Exchange Place.
LEVERING, EDWIN W. (1916).....Calvert and Redwood Sts.
LEVERING, EUGENE (1895).....26 South St.
LEVY, WILLIAM B. (1909).....11th floor, Fidelity Building.
LINTHICUM, J. CHARLES (1905).....705 St. Paul St.
LINVILLE, CHARLES H. (1918).....1935 Park Ave.
LIVEZEY, E. (1907).....22 E. Lexington St.
LJUNGSTEDT, MRS. A. O. (1915)..... { Chevy Chase, D. C. Box 46, Route 3.
LLOYD, C. HOWARD (1907).....1120 St. Paul St.
LLOYD, HENRY (1902).....Cambridge, Md.
LOCKWOOD, WILLIAM F., M. D. (1891)..8 E. Eager St.
LUCAS, WM. F., JR. (1909).....221 E. Baltimore St.
LYELL, J. MILTON (1916).....1163 Calvert Building.
LYON, MISS MARY A. (1916).....1209 Linden Ave.
LYTLE, WM. H. (1908).....1220 St. Paul St.

MCADAMS, REV. EDW. P. (1906).....31 Augusta Ave.
MCALLISTER, FRANCIS W. (1916).....520 Woodlawn Rd., Roland Park.
MCCLELLAN, WILLIAM J. (1866).....1208 Madison Ave.
MCCOLGAN, CHARLES C. (1916).....12 E. Lexington St.
MCCORMICK, ROBERDEAU A. (1914)....McCormick Block.
MCCORMICK, THOMAS P., M. D. (1902)..1421 Eutaw Place.
MCELROY, MRS. ELIZABETH M. (1917)...1619 McCulloh St.

McEvoy, James, Jr. (1909).....533 Title Bldg.
McGaw, George K. (1902).....Charles and Mulberry Sts.
Macgill, Richard G., Jr. (1891).....110 Commerce St.
Machen, Arthur W. (1917).....1109 Calvert Building.
McIlvaine, Miss E. C. (1917).....512 Park Ave.
Mackall, W. Hollingsworth (1909)..Elkton, Md.
Mackenzie, George Norbury (1890)..2 E. Lexington St.
Mackenzie, Thomas (1917).....607 Continental Building.
McKeon, Mrs. E. H. (1910).....12 E. Eager St.
McKim, Mrs. Hollins (1916).....975 St. Paul St.
McKim, S. S. (1902).....Savings Bank of Baltimore.
*Mackubin, Miss Florence (1913)....The Brexton.
McLane, Allan (1894).....Garrison, Md.
McLane, James L. (1888).....903 Cathedral St.
Macsherry, Allan (1914).....104 Charlcote Road, Guilford.
Magruder, Caleb C., Jr. (1910).....Upper Marlboro, Md.
Maloy, William Milnes (1911).....1403 Fidelity Building.
Mandelbaum, Seymour (1902).....619 Fidelity Bldg.
Manly, Mrs. Wm. M. (1916)..... 1109 N. Calvert St.
Marburg, Miss Emma (1917).....19 W. 29th St.
Marbury, William L. (1887).....700 Maryland Trust Building.
Marine, Miss Harriet P. (1915).....2514 Madison Ave.
Marriott, Telfair W. (1916).....Buford Apts.
Marsden, Mrs. Charles T. (1918)....1729 Bolton St.
Marshall, Mrs. Charles (1917).....The Preston.
Marshall, John W. (1902).....13 South St.
Marye, William B. (1911).....Upper Falls, Md.
Massey, E. Thomas (1909).....Massey, Kent Co., Md.
Mathews, Edward B., Ph. D. (1905)..Johns Hopkins University.
May, George (1916).....Maryland Club.
Meekins, Lynn R. (1908).....2418 N. Charles St.
Meiere, T. McKean (1916).....1724 N. Calvert St.
Merchant, Henry N. (1915).....119 E. Baltimore St.
Merritt, Elizabeth (1913).....3402 W. North Ave.
Middendorf, J. W. (1902).....Stevenson, Md.
Miles, Joshua W. (1915).....Custom House.
Miller, Charles R. (1916).....2216 Linden Ave.
Miller, Mrs. Charles R. (1916).....2216 Linden Ave.
Miller, Decatur H., Jr. (1902).....506 Maryland Trust Building.
Miller, Edgar G., Jr. (1916).....Title Bulding.
Miller, Paul H. (1918).....1224 N. Charles St.
Miller, Walter H. (1904)..... Care of Burton Bros., 348 Broadway, N. Y.
Milligan, John J. (1916).....603 N. Charles St.
Mitchell, Joseph B. (1917).....2123 N. Calvert St.
Moody, W. Raymond (1911).....Chestertown, Md.
Moore, Miss Mary Wilson (1914)....2340 N. Calvert St.

MORGAN, JOHN HURST (1896).....10 E. Fayette St.
MULLEN, REV. ALBERT OSWALD (1912)..329 E. Lafayette Ave.
MULLIN, MISS ELIZABETH LESTER (1916) 206 E. Eager St.
MULLER, MISS AMELIA (1917).....807 W. Fayette St.
MURRAY, DANIEL M. (1902).....Elk Ridge, Md.
MURRAY, RT. REV. JOHN G. (1908)....Chas. St. Av. and Univ. Parkway.
MYERS, WILLIAM STARR (1902).....104 Bayard Lane, Princeton, N. J.
MYERS, WILLIS E. (1911).....10 E. Fayette St.

NASH, CHARLES W. (1908).....117 S. Broadway.
NEAL, REV. J. ST. CLAIR (1914).....Bengies, Baltimore Co., Md.
NELLIGAN, JOHN J. (1907).....Safe Deposit and Trust Co.
NELSON, ALEXANDER C. (1907).....210 E. Redwood St.
NEWCOMER, WALDO (1902).....National Exchange Bank.
NICODEMUS, F. COURTNEY, JR. (1902)..43 E. 18th St., New York, N. Y.
NICOLAI, CHARLES D. (1916).....4105 Pennhurst Ave.
NORRIS, JEFFERSON D. (1914).....128 W. Lanvale St.
NORRIS, LLOYD (1917).....Patterson Park.

OBER, GUSTAVUS, JR. (1914).....1217 N. Charles St.
OBER, J. HAMBLETON (1915).....1101 St. Paul St.
ODELL, WALTER GEORGE (1910).....3021 W. North Ave.
O'DONOVAN, CHARLES, M. D. (1890)....5 E. Read St.
O'DONOVAN, REV. LOUIS (1918).....31 N. Fulton Ave.
OFFUTT, T. SCOTT (1908).....Towson, Md.
OLIVER, THOMAS H. (1890).....41 University Pl., Univ. of Va.
OLIVER, W. B. (1913).....1st floor, Garrett Building.
OLIVIER, STUART (1913).....The News.
O'NEILL, THOS. (1907).....S. W. Cor. Charles & Lexington Sts.
OSBORNE, MISS INEZ H. (1917).....Havre de Grace, Md.
OWEN, FRANKLIN B. (1917).....804 Guardian Bldg., Cleveland, O.
OWENS, ALBERT S. J. (1912).....1408 Fidelity Building.
OWENS, EDWARD B. (1915).....130 S. Charles St.

PACA, JOHN P. (1897).....620 Munsey Building.
PACHE, JOSEPH (1917).....1532 Harlem Ave.
PAGE, WM. C. (1912).....Calvert Bank.
PAGON, W. WATTERS (1916)..... Curtis Bay Ordnance Depot, South Baltimore P. O.
PARKE, FRANCIS NEAL (1910).....Westminster, Md.
PARKER, JOHN (1916).....Peabody Institute.
PARKER, MRS. T. C. (1918).....103 W. Monument St.
PARR, MRS. CHAS. E. (1915).....18 E. Lafayette Ave.
PARRAN, MRS. FRANK J. (1908).....144 W. Lanvale St.
PARRAN, WILLIAM J. (1903).....124 S. Charles St.
PASSANO, EDWARD B. (1916).....Towson, Md.
PATTERSON, J. LER. (1909).....802 Harlem Ave.
PATTON, MRS. JAMES H. (1913).....Guilford Manor Apts.
PAUL, MRS. D'ARCY (1909).....“Woodlands,” Gorsuch Ave.

PEARCE, JAMES A., LL. D. (1902).....Chestertown, Md.
PEARRE, AUBREY, JR. (1906).....207 N. Calvert St.
PEGRAM, WM. M. (1909).....U. S. Fidelity and Guaranty Co.
PENNIMAN, THOS. D. (1911).....922 Cathedral St.
PENNINGTON, DR. CLAPHAM (1917)....1530 Bolton St.
PENNINGTON, JOSIAS (1894).....Professional Building.
PENNINGTON, MRS. JOSIAS (1916).....1119 St. Paul St.
PERINE, E. GLENN (1882).....18 E. Lexington St.
PERINE, MRS. E. GLENN (1918).....512 Cathedral St.
PERINE, MRS. GEORGE CORBIN (1916)...1105 Cathedral St.
PERINE, WASHINGTON (1917).....607 Cathedral St.
PERKINS, ELISHA H. (1887).....Provident Savings Bank.
PERKINS, WILLIAM H., JR. (1887).....1010 Munsey Bldg.
PETER, ROBERT B. (1916).....Rockville, Md.
*PHELPS, CHARLES E., JR. (1903).....1028 Cathedral St.
PITT, FARIS C. (1908).....912 N. Charles St.
PITT, HERBERT ST. JOHN (1915).....912 N. Charles St.
PLEASANTS, J. HALL, JR., M. D. (1898).201 Longwood Road, Roland Park
POLLITT, L. IRVING (1916).....1715 Park Place.
*POPE, GEORGE A. (1902).....214 Chamber of Commerce.
POST, A. H. S. (1916).....Mercantile Trust and Deposit Co.
POULTNEY, WALTER DE C. (1916).....St. Paul and Mulberry Sts.
POWELL, WM. C. (1912).....Snow Hill, Md.
POWELL, MRS. WM. S. (1916).....Ellicott City, Md.
PRESTON, JAMES H. (1898).....City Hall.
PRETTYMAN, CHARLES W. (1909).....Rockville, Md.
PRICE, DR. ELDRIDGE C. (1915).....1012 Madison Ave.
PRICE, WILLIAM H. J. (1917).....825 Equitable Building.
PURDUM, BRADLEY K. (1902).....Hamilton, Md.

*RABORG, CHRISTOPHER (1902).....Hotel Rennert.
RABORG, EDWARD L. (1918).....Hotel Rennert.
RADCLIFFE, GEO. L. P., PH. D. (1908)...615 Fidelity Building.
RANCK, SAMUEL H. (1898).....Public Lib'y, Grand Rapids, Mich.
RANDALL, BLANCHARD (1902).....200 Chamber of Commerce Bldg.
RANDALL, DANIEL R. (1917).....841 Calvert Building.
RANDOLPH, GEORGE F. (1916).....B. & O. Building.
RAWLS, W. L. (1905).....700 Maryland Trust Building.
RAYNER, A. W. (1905).....8 E. Lexington St.
REDWOOD, MRS. MARY B. (1907).....918 Madison Ave.
REED, MRS. EMILIE MCKIM (1909).....512 Park Ave.
REESE, MRS. J. EVAN (1917).....110 Edgevale Road, Roland Park.
REIFSNIDER, JOHN M. (1895).....Public Service Commission of Md.
REMSEN, IRA, LL. D. (1901).....Johns Hopkins University.
REVELL, EDWARD J. W. (1916).....1308-09 Fidelity Bldg.
RICH, MRS. EDWARD L. (1915).....Catonsville, Md.
RICH, EDWARD N. (1916).....Union Trust Building.
RICHARDSON, ALBERT LEVIN (1902)....2127 N. Charles St.

RICHARDSON, MRS. HESTER D. (1901)...2127 N. Charles St.
RICHMOND, MISS SARAH E. (1915).....603 Evesham Ave., Towson, Md.
RIDGELY, MISS ELIZA (1893).....825 Park Ave.
RIDGELY, MRS. HELEN (1895).....Hampton, Towson, Md.
RIDGELY, JOHN, JR. (1916).....Towson, Md.
RIDGELY, MARTIN E. (1914).....Wilna, Harford Co., Md.
RIDGELY, RUXTON M. (1892).....707 Gaither Building.
RIEMAN, MRS. CHARLES ELLET (1909) { Dumbarton Farms, Rodger's Forge P. O., Md.
RIEMAN, CHARLES ELLET (1898).....14 N. Eutaw St.
RIGGS, CLINTON L. (1907).....Riggs Bldg., Charles and Read Sts.
RIGGS, LAWRASON (1894).....632 Equitable Building.
RIORDAN, CHARLES E. (1907).....204 Exchange Place.
RITCHIE, ALBERT C. (1904).....601 Title Building.
RITTER, WILLIAM L. (1878).....541 N. Carrollton Ave.
ROBERTS, MRS. JOHN B. (1916).....1116 St. Paul St.
ROBINSON, RALPH (1894).....1310 Continental Building.
ROBINSON, WILLIAM CHAMP (1917)....32 South Street.
ROGERS, MRS. HENRY W. (1914).....Riderwood P. O., Balto. Co., Md.
ROLLINS, THORNTON (1911)..... { Md. National Bank, Baltimore and Calvert Sts.
ROHRER, C. W. G., M. D. (1910).....Lauraville Sta., Baltimore, Md.
ROSE, DOUGLAS H. (1898).....10 South St.
ROSE, JOHN C. (1883).....P. O. Building.
RUTH, THOS. DE COURSEY (1916).....1918 F St., N. W., Wash., D. C.
RYAN, WM. P. (1915).....1825 E. Baltimore St.
RYLAND, SAMUEL P. (1909).....810 American Building.

SADTLER, MRS. GEO. W. (1908).....26 E. 25th St.
SADTLER, HOWARD P. (1915).....1163-69 Calvert Bldg.
SADTLER, MRS. ROSABELLA (1902).....1415 Linden Ave.
SAMPSON, MRS. LEILA B. (1912).....Sandgates, St. Mary's Co., Md.
SANFORD, JOHN L. (1916).....317 Munsey Building.
SAPPINGTON, A. DERUSSY (1897).....733 Title Building.
SEARS, THOMAS E., M. D. (1894).....658 W. Franklin St.
SELLERS, MATTHEW B. (1915).....801 N. Arlington Ave.
SELLERS, SAMUEL CAMPBELL (1914)....801 N. Arlington Ave.
SELLMAN, JAMES L. (1901).....Merchants-Mechanics Nat'l. Bank.
SEMMES, JOHN E. (1884).....10 E. Eager St.
SEMMES, JOHN E. JR. (1916).....825 Equitable Building.
SETH, FRANK W. (1914).....382 Custom House, N. Y. City.
SETH, JOSEPH B. (1896).....Easton, Md.
SHIPPEN, MRS. REBECCA LLOYD POST.. (1893) ..... } 2202 Q St., N. W., Wash., D. C.
SHIRK, MRS. IDA M. (1914).....Indianapolis, Ind.
SHRIVER, J. ALEXIS (1907).....Wilna, Harford Co., Md.
SHOWER, GEORGE T., M. D. (1913).....3721 Roland Ave.
*SHYROCK, THOMAS J. (1891).....1401 Madison Ave., P. O. Box 717.

SILL, HOWARD (1897).....11 E. Pleasant St.
SIMMONS, MRS. H. B. (1916).....Chestertown, Md.
SIOUSSAT, MRS. ANNA L. (1891).....Lake Roland, Md.
SIOUSSAT, ST. GEORGE LEAKIN (1912)..Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.
SKINNER, MRS. HARRY G. (1913).....Mt. Washington, Md.
SKINNER, M. E. (1897).....1103 Fidelity Bldg.
SKIRVEN, PERCY G. (1914).....3900 Cottage Ave.
SLOAN, GEORGE F. (1880).....Roland Park.
SMITH, MRS. WALTER PRESCOTT (1913)..18 E. Madison St.
SMITH, REV. CHESTER MANSFIELD (1912)925 Cathedral St.
SMITH, FRANK O. (1913).....Washington, D. C.
SMITH, HENRY LEE, M. D. (1912).....2701 Calvert St.
SMITH, JOHN DONNELL (1903).....505 Park Ave.
SMITH, RUSH W. DAVIDGE (1917).....3600 Reisterstown Road.
SMITH, THOMAS A. (1909).....Ridgely, Caroline Co., Md.
SMITH, TUNSTALL (1917).....The Preston.
SNOWDEN, WILTON (1902).....Central Savings Bank Building.
SOLLERS, SOMERVILLE (1905).....1311 John St.
SOPER, HON. MORRIS A. (1917).....The Marlborough Apts.
SPENCER, RICHARD H. (1891).....Earl Court.
STABLER, EDWARD, JR. (1876).....610 Reservoir St.
STARR, RT. REV. WM. E. (1914).....102 W. Lafayette Ave.
STATON, MARY ROBINSON (1918).....Snow Hill, Md.
STEELE, JOHN MURRAY, M. D. (1911)...Owings Mills, Md.
STEELE, MISS MARGARET A. (1917)....Port Deposit, Md.
STEIN, CHAS. F. (1905).....S. E. Cor. Courtl'd & Saratoga Sts.
STEINER, BERNARD C., PH. D. (1892)....1038 N. Eutaw St.
STERLING, GEORGE S. (1902).....228 Light St.
STEVENSON, H. M., M. D. (1904).....1022 W. Lafayette Ave.
STEWART, DAVID (1886).....1005 N. Charles St.
STEWART, REDMOND C. (1916).....207 N. Calvert St.
STIRLING, REAR ADMIRAL YATES (1889)..209 W. Lanvale St.
STOCKBRIDGE, HENRY (1883).....11 N. Calhoun St.
STOCKBRIDGE, HENRY, 3D (1917).....Ten Hills, Md.
STONE, JOHN T. (1894).....N. W. Cor. Baltimore & North Sts.
STORK, JOHN WILLIAM (1914).....424 N. Charles St.
STORY, FREDERICK W. (1885).....217 Court House.
STRAN, MRS. KATE A. (1900).....1912 Eutaw Place.
STRICKLAND, C. HOBART (1916).....Guilford Apts.
STUART, MISS SARAH ELIZABETH (1915).Chestertown, Md.
STUMP, MARY FERNANDEZ DE VELASCO (1917) ..... } Belair, Md.
STURDY, HENRY FRANCIS (1913).....Annapolis, Md.
SUDLER, MISS CAROLINA V. (1915).....2602 Shirley Ave.
SUMMERS, CLINTON (1916).....101 Roland Ave.
SUMWALT, MRS. MARY H. (1909).....2921 N. Calvert St.
*SWINDELL, MRS. WALTER B. (1913)....506 Roland Ave., Roland Park.
SYMINGTON, WM. W (1916).....Catonsville, Md.

TALBOTT, MRS. BERTHA C. HALL (1913) . Rockville, Md.
TAYLOR, ARCHIBALD H. (1909) ..... 405 Maryland Trust Building.
THAYER, W. S., M. D. (1902) ..... 406 Cathedral St.
THIRLKELD, REV. L. A. (1918) ..... 2705 Presbury St.
THOM, DECOURCY W. (1884) ..... 405 Maryland Trust Building.
THOM, MRS. LEA (1902) ..... 204 W. Lanvale St.
THOMAS, MRS. ANNIE HORNER (1914) .. 2110 Mt. Royal Terrace.
THOMAS, DOUGLAS H. (1874) ..... Merchants-Mechanics Bank.
THOMAS, GEO. C. (1915) ..... 2426 N. Charles St.
THOMAS, JAMES W., LL. D. (1894) ..... Cumberland, Md.
THOMAS, JOHN B. (1910) ..... S. E. Cor. Charles and 33rd Sts.
THOMAS, WILLIAM S. (1915) ..... 211 N. Calvert St.
THOMAS, MISS ZAIDEE T. (1916) .... 1302 Eutaw Place.
THOMPSON, H. OLIVER (1895) ..... Title Building.
TILGHMAN, OSWALD (1906) ..... Easton, Md.
TILGHMAN, LIEUT. SAMUEL H. (1917) ... War Dept., Washington, D. C.
TODD, W. J., M. D. (1902) ..... Mt. Washington, Md.
TOLSON, ALBERT C. (1916) ..... 82-83 Gunther Building.
TOWERS, ALBERT G. (1917) ..... 7 W. Chase St.
TRIPPE, ANDREW C. (1877) ..... 347 N. Charles St.
TRIPPE, JAMES McC. (1918) ..... 347 N. Charles St.
*TRIPPE, RICHARD (1917) ..... 1116 Munsey Building.
TROUPE, MRS. CALVIN FERRIS (1914) .... St. Paul Apartments.
TROUPE, RINALDO W. B. (1914) ..... 2322 Eutaw Place.
TRUNDLE, MRS. WILSON BURNS (1914) . 2414 Madison Ave.
TUBMAN, ROBERT E. (1915) ..... 117 W. Lombard St.
TURNBULL, MRS. CHESTER B. (1916) ... Cedarcroft, Hollen & Sycamore Sts.
TURNBULL, EDWIN L. (1916) ..... 12 E. Lexington St.
TURNBULL, LAWRENCE (1889) ..... 1530 Park Ave.
TURNER, HOWARD (1916) ..... Betterton, Kent Co., Md.
TURNER, REV. JOSEPH BROWN (1915) .... 75 Main St., Port Deposit, Md.
TURNER, J. FRANK (1903) ..... 23 East North Ave.
TYSON, A. M. (1895) ..... 207 N. Calvert St.
TYSON, MRS. FLORENCE MACINTYRE (1907) ..... } 251 W. Preston St.

VAN BIBBER, ARMFIELD F., M. D. (1918) Belair, Md.
VICKERY, E. M. (1913) ..... 1223 N. Calvert St.
VINCENT, JOHN M., PH. D. (1894) ..... Johns Hopkins University.

WALKER, MRS. CATHERINE F. (1915) .... Chestertown, Md.
WALLACE, CHAS. C. (1915) ..... 804 Union Trust Bldg.
WALTERS, HENRY (1880) ..... Abell Building.
WARFIELD, EDWIN (1879) ..... Fidelity Building.
WARFIELD, EDWIN, JR. (1914) ..... Fidelity Building.
WARFIELD, GEORGE (1913) ..... 624 N. Carrollton Ave.
WARFIELD, JOHN (1916) ..... 15 E. Saratoga St.
WARFIELD, RIDGELY B., M. D. (1907) .... 845 Park Ave.
WARFIELD, S. DAVIES (1902) ..... 40 Continental Trust Building.

WATERS, FRANCIS E. (1909).....905 Union Trust Building.
WATERS, J. SEYMOUR T. (1902).....222 St. Paul St.
WATERS, MISS MARY E. (1916).....2028 Mt. Royal Terrace.
WATTS, J. CLINTON (1914).....2035 Guilford Ave.
WATTS, SEWELL S. (1916).....Calvert and Redwood Sts.
WEAVER, JACOB J., JR., M. D. (1889)....Uniontown, Md.
WELLS, JACOB BIER (1918).....1323 Park Ave.
WELSH, MRS. ROBERT A. (1916).....Millersville, A. A. Co., Md.
WEST, HARRY (1916).....Hanover and Fayette Sts.
WETTER, JOHN KING (1917).....1631 N. Calvert St.
WHITE, JULIAN LE ROY (1887).....2400 W. North Ave.
WHITE, MILES, JR. (1897).....607 Keyser Building.
WHITELEY, JAMES S. (1901).....510 Keyser Building.
WHITRIDGE, MORRIS (1890).....10 South St.
WHITRIDGE, WILLIAM H. (1886).....604 Cathedral St.
WHITRIDGE, MRS. WM. H. (1911).....604 Cathedral St.
WILKINSON, A. L., M. D. (1910).....Raspeburg, Balto. Co., Md.
WILL, ALLEN S. (1910).....2620 N. Calvert St.
WILLARD, DANIEL (1913).....B. & O. Building.
WILLIAMS, MISS ELIZABETH CHEW (1916).....} "Woodcliffe," 39th St., and Univ. Parkway.
WILLIAMS, FRED R. (1914).....213 Courtland St.
WILLIAMS, HENRY W. (1891).....1113 Fidelity Building.
WILLIAMS, N. WINSLOW (1896).....1113 Fidelity Building.
WILLIAMS, MISS NELLIE (1917).....814 Riverside Drive, N. Y.
WILLIAMS, RAYMOND S. (1917).....1109 Calvert Bldg.
WILLIAMS, STEVENSON A. (1914).....Belair, Md.
WILLIAMS, T. J. C. (1907).....Juvenile Court.
WILLIAMSON, R. E. LEE (1918).....Maple Lodge, Catonsville, Md.
WILLIS, GEORGE R. (1902).....213 Courtland St.
WILLSON, MRS. NOTLEY (1917).....Rock Hall, Md.
WILSON, J. APPLETON (1893).....800 Law Building.
WILSON, MRS. LETITIA PENNELL (1917).3910 Cottage Ave.
WILSON, MRS. WILLIAM T. (1898).....1129 St. Paul St.
WINCHESTER, MARSHALL (1902).....Fayette & St. Paul, S. W.
WINCHESTER, WILLIAM (1880).....1108 American Building.
*WISE, HENRY A. (1882).....11 W. Mulberry St.
WOODALL, CASPER G. (1909).....American Office.
WOODRUFF, CALDWELL, M. D. (1914)....Hyattsville, Md.
WOODS, HIRAM, M. D. (1911).....842 Park Ave.
WOOTTON, W. H. (1905)..... ....10 South St.
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MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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IN MEMORIAM

"FOR OUR TOMORROWS, THEY GAVE THEIR TODAY."

ZADOC MORTON KATZ, Private, 1st Class; Co. I, Intelligence Department, 313th Infantry, A. E. F.

Born in Baltimore, Md., January 15, 1890.

Killed in action, Montfaucon, France, September 27, 1918.

He received his early education in the Public Schools, the religious schools of the Oheb Shalom Congregation, and the Preparatory Department of the Peabody Conservatory of Music. In 1906, at the age of 16, after three years' course, he graduated from the Baltimore City College, winning the third $100 Peabody prize in a class of 119.

Katz then entered the employ of his father, and at the age of 21 became a member of the firm. He was soon recognized as one of the ablest and most progressive young men in the commercial life of the city. Though strenuously engaged in mercantile pursuits, for three years prior to his death, he attended night classes of the Johns Hopkins University, taking courses in English, economics, corporation finance, psychology and philosophy. He was a member of the Masonic Fraternity, City Club, Progress Club, Suburban Club, and a member of the Executive Committee of the Alumni Association of the Balti-

more City College. After building himself up physically by boxing and other athletics for several months, he requested his Draft Board to induct him into the service months in advance of his numerical time. He went in training at Camp Meade and embarked for France, July, 1918.

He was killed during the heavy fighting in the American line September 7, 1918. According to a letter received by his parents, Private Katz is believed to have met his death while in "No Man's Land" on a reconnoitering expedition. He was a member of the 3d Battalion, Intelligence Staff, Company I, "Baltimore's Own," 313th Infantry. During the operation of the American forces that branch of the service was instrumental in obtaining information as to the enemy's strength, identification, and other data, which is among the most hazardous duties in the army, the men being frequently obliged to visit the enemy trenches. It was on one of these scouting expeditions he was killed, immediately after accomplishing a heroic deed which probably saved many boys' lives.

In his will Katz bequeathed $500.00 to charitable institutions of Baltimore. To honor his memory many donations were made to the Federated Jewish charities of Baltimore, one for $2,500.00 by a friend from New York. The Lodge of the Masonic Order, of which he was a member, paid a special tribute to him in a booklet issued by it. A group of friends presented to the Johns Hopkins University the Z. Morton Katz Memorial Fund of $3,000.00, through which, annually, a member of the graduating class of the Baltimore City College is awarded a scholarship to the Johns Hopkins University.

Such was the useful life and heroic death of Zadoc Morton Katz. In letters from his comrades and articles which appeared in the press, many tributes were paid to him. All agree that he was a man of extraordinary ability and character, a fearless soldier and one of the most beloved of men in his regiment.

George Buchanan Redwood, 1st Lieut., 28th Infantry.

Born at Baltimore, Maryland, September 30, 1888.

Killed at Cantigny, France, May 28, 1918.

George Buchanan Redwood was the son of the late Francis T. Redwood and Mary Coale Redwood, and brother of Francis T. Redwood, Jr.

He received his early education at Gilman Country School from which he graduated in 1906. He then enrolled at Harvard University at which institution he received distinction, graduating in 1910 with degree of B. A. From 1910 to 1917 he was real estate editor of the *Baltimore News.*

Immediately following America's declaration of war in April, 1917, Lieut. Redwood enlisted in the U. S. Infantry and was at once ordered to attend the Fort Meyer Training Camp for officers, and was commissioned Lieutenant of Infantry.

On September 7th, 1917, Lieut. Redwood sailed for France. His first assignment was to the British 4th Army School for sniping, scouting, and observation, passing with the highest possible grade, 100 per cent. From here he was assigned to the 28th Division as Intelligence Officer. He served continuously with this Division until his death, May 28th, 1918.

He was awarded the D. S. C. for extraordinary heroism in action at Seicheprey, France, March 28th, 1918. With great daring he led a patrol of men into a dangerous portion of the enemy's trenches, where the patrol surrounded a party nearly doubling their own strength, captured a greater number than themselves, drove away an enemy rescuing party, and made their way back to their lines with four prisoners from whom valuable information was taken.

Lieut. Redwood was also awarded an Oak Leaf Cluster, to be worn with the D. S. C., for the following act of extraordinary heroism at Cantigny, France, May 28, 1918. He conducted himself fearlessly to obtain information of the enemy's lines, which were reported to be under consolidation. While making a sketch of the German position on this mission, he was under heavy fire and continued his work even after being fatally

wounded until it was concluded. The injuries sustained at this time caused his death. He also received the Croix de Guerre with palm.

The following letter from his General Commander, shows him to be an officer whose high example of all that is best in American manhood, is a heritage of honor and pride which his Division shares with his native city:

"Coblenz, Germany, Jan. 22, 1919.

My dear Mrs. Redwood:

This command sends to you through me this expression of pride shared with you in the record of your son.

No finer example of our nation has given his life for the great cause.

In our memory he marches in the van of the bravest and best —those who sought the posts of highest honor—nearest the enemy.

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) Frank Parker,
General Commanding."

John William Saxon, Co. K., 115th Infantry.

Born at Alvin, Texas, November 5, 1897.

Killed at Nollville Farm, France.

John William Saxon was the son of Jesse W. Saxon and Hannah W. Saxon, and brother of Thomas L. Saxon, Mary Saxon, Ruth Saxon, Naomi Saxon, Samuel M. Saxon, and Jesse J. Saxon.

His early life was spent in Alvin, Texas, moving with his family to Washington, D. C., in 1907, where he entered the public school at Chevy Chase. In 1918 the Saxon family took up residence in Hyattsville, Md., remaining only two years, when they moved to Kensington, Md. While at Kensington, John Saxon attended Central High School, Washington, D. C.

In June, 1916, he enlisted in the Maryland National Guard, 1st Regt., Company K, and was immediately sent to the Mexican border, remaining there until November, 1916. At the outbreak of the war with Germany his Regiment was called and sent to Camp McClellan, Anniston, Ala. After six months intensive training they were sent overseas as the 115th U. S. Infantry, arriving in France the latter part of June, 1918.

Only a few days after Sergt. Saxon's Company got into line he was awarded a divisional citation for courage and skill in reconnoissance preliminary to a raid on the German trenches August 30th and 31st, 1918, when he had the high honor of being the first man of his division to enter the enemy trenches in his attack.

In October, 1918, he was awarded posthumously, the D. S. C., for the following act of extraordinary heroism in action near Verdun, France:

"In the advance on Rechene Hill he showed great courage and judgment in leading his platoon and wiping out several machine guns that were holding up the advance. He was killed while gallantly leading his men against the last of these."

He was buried with full military honors in the American Cemetery at Consenvoye Meuse, France.

Harry J. Selby, Capt. 18th U. S. Infantry.

Born at Ivory, Howard County, Maryland, Dec. 15th, 1894.

Killed in Argonne Drive, France.

Harry J. Selby was the eldest son of John W. Selby and Addin Selby, and brother of John R. Selby, W. B. Selby, Grace Selby, Jane Selby, Mrs. H. P. Makel and Mrs. Florence Iglehart.

He attended public schools and high school until he was 18 years of age when he enrolled at St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland. At this institution he received the highest honors both in scholastic and military affairs. Besides this he was a

prominent athlete, being chosen for the all-Maryland foot-ball and basket-ball teams for three consecutive years.

After his graduation he enlisted in the 1st. Maryland Machine Gun Company in which he saw service on the Mexican border. In December, 1916, he was commissioned in the Regular Army and detailed to Fort Leavenworth. From here he was assigned to the 18th Infantry, sailing for France with the 1st. U. S. Contingent on June 14th.

His first duty was as instructor at Gonducourt school. Rejoining the 18th on July 3 he took part in the Cantigny drive. Capt. Selby was wouned near Soissons, July 18th. He returned to duty with the Regiment on September 4th in time to take part in the drive started September 11th. While in the Argonne, the Major of his battalion was gassed. Capt. Selby was immediately put in command of the battalion and led it for three days of the hardest fighting.

Besides being cited in Division orders December 8th, 1st. Division, A. E. F., the Marshal of France, Commander in Chief of the French armies of the East, cites in the order of the Army:

"Capt. H. J. Selby, 18th Regt., U. S. Infantry, displayed great bravery and coolness at the head of a battalion which he brilliantly led to the attack, October 4, 1918. He did not spare himself during the days following, encouraging his men by his great calm under the fire of enemy guns and machine guns. Fatally wounded October 9, 1918."

(Signed) Petain,
Commander-in-chief."

Capt. Selby won the admiration and friendship of every officer in the Regiment, and all the men under his command say he was the bravest man they ever saw. Capt. Selby was buried with full military honors at Exemont, France.

JOHN GALEN SKILLING, 1st Lieut. Medical Corps.

Born at Lonaconing, Maryland, February 22d, 1894.

Killed at Mouzon, France, November 7th, 1918.

John Galen Skilling was the son of Dr. William Q. Skilling and Lottie (Kuhn) Skilling, and brother of William K. Skilling and Charlotte Skilling Carter.

His boyhood days were spent in Lonaconing, Maryland, where he attended public schools. At the age of 13 he entered Central High School of Lonaconing, from which he graduated in 1911. He then took two years of pre-medical work at the University of Pennsylvania, going thence to the University of Maryland, from which institution he graduated as Medical Doctor in 1917. Subsequently he was appointed resident physician at Maryland General Hospital, Baltimore. On August 1st, 1917, he received his commission in the U. S. Medical Corps. Shortly afterwards he married Jessie B. Robinson of Cumberland, Maryland.

Lieut. Skilling was assigned to Camp Greenleaf, Oglethorpe, Ga., at which place he received his training. On April 16th he went overseas and on his arrival was assigned to Field Hospital 13, 1st. Division. He also served with Ambulance Company No. 3, and at the time of his death was Battalion Surgeon of 1st. Battalion, 26th Infantry, 1st Division.

Lieut. Skilling saw active service with his regiment during the battles of Chateau-Thierry, St. Mihiel, and both the Argonne Forest drives, besides all the other 1st Division engagements.

The Major of his Battalion, L. R. Wheeler, writes the following:

"I commanded the Lieutenant's Battalion, 26th Infantry, from late July to September 18th. Skilling was the Battalion Surgeon, and was as efficient professionally as he was lovable personally. His calmness and clear insight under conditions of stress were of the utmost value to the command. He was beloved by the men and respected by the officers."

The last heard of Lieut. Skilling was when he walked up to Battalion Headquarters to inform them that they were in great need of stretcher bearers and stretchers. He then left to return to the wounded, where his duty was, and in crossing over the exposed ground was struck by one of the enemy's large shells and it is doubtful if his body was ever recovered.

"A great sorrow for his family was his death, but also an imperishable honor in his giving truly, efficiently, bravely, his life for our country—and they were the best we had, the men who did not return—."

James Henderson Spafford, Lieut. 2nd Regt. Engineers, 2nd Division.

Born at Baltimore, Md., October 9, 1892.

Killed at Suippes, France, October 9, 1918.

James Henderson Spafford was the only son of James A. Spafford and Susanne I. Spafford and brother of Mrs. Edgar G. Carlisle of Philadelphia.

Lieut. Spafford received his early education at the Baltimore Polytechnic Institute, graduating in 1911. He then spent two years in the Engineering Department of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and one year in Engineering Department of the Southern Railroad, going thence to the Civil Engineering School of Cornell University, with the class of 1917.

When America declared war, Lieut. Spafford entered the Officers' Training Camp at Fort Myer and was commissioned 2d Lieut. in August. The following month he left for France and after spending about eight months in more specialized training at Versailles, was sent to the firing line in May and was made 1st. Lieut. soon thereafter.

For the following act of extraordinary heroism in which he made the supreme sacrifice Lieut. Spafford received both the D. S. C. and the Croix de Guerre with palm. Seeing a combat patrol suddenly fired upon by an enemy machine gun nest and

hard pushed, Lieut. Spafford went to its relief, courageously leading an attack on the machine gun nest. Although wounded in the arm during the attack he continued in action until he received a second wound. He was then taken to the hospital at Suippes, where he died two hours later.

He fought in the battles of Belleau Woods, Chateau-Thierry, Soissons, St. Mihiel and Blanch Mont. He was recommended for a Captaincy shortly before his death. He fell in battle on his twenty-sixth birthday.

Frank Browne Turner, First Lieutenant, U. S. Army, Aviation Corps, A. E. F.

Born at "Norwood," near Wicomico, Charles County, Maryland, September 22, 1895.

Killed near Tours, France, January 30, 1918.

Frank Brown Turner was the youngest son of Robert Hall Turner and Mary Keech Turner, and brother of Robert Alan Turner, William Carlyle Turner and Mrs. Francis A. Martin.

His boyhood days were spent at "Norwood" and his early schooling was obtained at the public school nearby. In his thirteenth year he enrolled at the Gilman Country School, near Baltimore, remaining for two years, then attended the Browning Preparatory School in New York City, going thence to the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University, with the Class of 1917.

Immediately following America's Declaration of War, in April, 1917, Lieutenant Turner enlisted in the Aviation Section of the Signal Corps, at Fort Myer, Va. He was ordered to the Ground School at Massachusetts Institute of Technology for preliminary training. During this period he returned to New Haven and received his degree. From the Ground School he was sent to Mineola for intensive training in flying, and in a short time was pronounced an efficient pilot and awarded a commission of First Lieutenant, Aviation Corps.

In October, 1917, Lieutenant Turner sailed for France in

charge of one hundred cadets, whom he was to assist in training on arrival overseas. While engaged in this work, and also undergoing special training for combat work, his plane was run into by that of Cadet Hopkins, of Newark, N. J., and both flyers killed instantly.

The funeral of Lieutenant Turner, near Tours, France, was most impressive. According to eye witnesses, during the funeral one hundred planes went through formations over the grave, and over the procession, which was half a mile in length. His comrades were so anxious to contribute for flowers that the amount had to be limited. The flowers were brought by special plane from a nearby city.

Lieutenant Turner was popular with all who knew him and held in high esteem by his fellow fliers, as is evidenced by the remarks of a friend and eye-witness to the accident: "I want to let his Mother know how much the crowd really thought of him; there wasn't anybody better liked."

BATTLE OF LONG ISLAND

[In 1916 a special Committee, consisting of Messrs. Andrew C. Trippe, Richard M. Duvall and Francis B. Culver, was appointed to investigate the records with a view to establish the personnel composing the "Maryland Four Hundred" who, at the Battle of Long Island, 27th August, 1776, checked the British advance during the successful retreat of Washington's main army. The result of the investigation is herein presented.—EDITOR.]

THE "MARYLAND 400" AT LONG ISLAND.

After the evacuation of Boston, Washington led his army to New York, which he feared would next be assailed, for New York was commercially important, and a strong Tory element existed in its vicinity.

Hurried preparations were made to complete the fortifications, troops were enlisted for three years, a bounty of ten

dollars was offered to encourage recruiting, and about twenty-seven thousand men were finally collected, of whom a little over one-half were fit for duty.

On the first of July, 1776, General Howe arrived at Staten Island from Halifax, and was soon after joined by his brother, Admiral Howe, from England, and by Clinton from the British defeat at Fort Moultrie. The enemy had thirty thousand admirably disciplined and equipped troops, including about eight thousand of the dreaded and detested Hessians.

The British fleet consisted of ten ships-of-the-line, twenty frigates, and four hundred ships and transports, which were moored in the bay, ready to co-operate.

Parliament now proclaimed pardon for all those who would return to their allegiance. Lord Howe desired a restoration of peace and sought an interview with his old-time friend, Benjamin Franklin. But it was too late. The colonies demanded independence, which England refused to grant. Nothing but war could settle the question.

Companies were mustered forthwith, and Maryland took measures to rush more than 3,900 troops on to New York, the anticipated theatre of war. A letter from the Council of Maryland to the Maryland deputies in Congress, bearing date the 16th of August, 1776, reads: "We shall have near 4,000 men with you in a short time—this exceeds our proportion for the Flying Camp, but we are sending all we have that can be armed and equipped, and the people of New York, for whom we have great affection, can have no more than our all." [1]

The Maryland Contingent consisted of the following commands:

Smallwood's battalion—9 companies (76 each)	684
Capt. Veazey's Company	100
Capt. Hindman's Company	100
Capt. Thomas' Company	100
Capt. Beall's Company	100
Capt. Gunby's Company	100

[1] *Md. Arch.*, XII, 212.

Capt. Woolford's Company	100
Capt. Watkins' Company	100
Griffith's battalion—9 companies (90 each)	810
Colo. Carvell Hall's battalion, " "	810
Colo. Ewing's, 3 companies	270
Eastern Shore battalion, 7 companies	644
Total number of men	3,918

Towards the last of August, Clinton crossed over the Narrows and on the 27th of August, 1776, was fought the bloody battle of Long Island. Washington had sent a large part of his effective fighting strength under Generals Putnam and Sullivan to hold Brooklyn Heights on Long Island.

Brooklyn was fortified by a series of intrenchments and forts extending from Gowanus Bay to Wallabout. Here were stationed Generals Sullivan and Alexander (otherwise known as "Stirling," from his Scottish title). General Greene being ill, General Putnam was placed in charge of the defense. Against these Howe dispatched a force of 20,000 men, who turned the American flank and "the battle was won before it was begun."

By a fatal oversight, one of the three roads by which the British could advance, namely, the Jamaica road, cutting through the hills by the Bedford and the Jamaica passes, was left unguarded, and the enemy was not slow to take advantage of this circumstance.

Hundreds of Americans were killed and captured, "but the bravery and determined resistance of some 400 Maryland troops checked the British advance." This, says an historian, together with a heavy storm and the British slowness of movement, "saved this portion of the Continental Army, and enabled Washington to rescue the remnant of his forces two days later." (See also Amer. Archives 5°, II, 882.)

Stedman, the British historian, says: "The Maryland regiment suffered most severely, having lost upwards of 260 men,

which was much regretted, as that regiment was composed of young men of the best families in the country." [2]

The Maryland battalion was led by Major Mordecai Gist, who commanded it in the absence of Smallwood, the latter having been detained in New York, by orders of General Washington, upon a Court Martial.

Major Gist, Captain Ramsey and Lieutenant Plunkett were within 100 yards of the enemy's muzzles, when they were fired on by the latter. It is said that Stirling, at the head of three companies, attempted to force his way through the enemy. The records show that the principal loss sustained by the Marylanders fell upon the companies of Captains *Daniel Bowie, Benjamin Ford, Barton Lucas, Peter Adams* and *Edward Veazey,* consisting in all of about 400 men.

The killed and wounded amounted to about 260 men, including 12 officers, or about three-fifths of the number of Maryland troops engaged in checking the British advance. Captain *Edward Veazey* was killed and the following were reported either killed, wounded or missing: Captain *Daniel Bowie;* Lieuts. *Joseph Butler, Hatch Dent, William Sterrett, Edward Praul, Edward DeCourcy, Samuel Turbutt Wright, Walter Muse;* Ensigns *William Ridgely, James Fernandis* and *William Courts;* besides 13 sergeants and 235 privates.[3]

Adjutant *Brice* was taken prisoner by two officers of Light Horse and was delivered to a private, who told him he was his prisoner, which Brice denied, and immediately shot him and got free.

The following are mentioned as prisoners with the enemy who, under a flag of truce, sent for their baggage and cash: *Wright, Bowie, Butler, Muse, Ridgely, Sterrett, Courts, Fernandis* and *Dent.* Congress at once took measures for the redemption and exchange of the prisoners on Long Island (Amer. Arch. 5°, I, 1251).

[2] Memoirs of Long Island Historical Society, II, 205.

[3] American Archives, 5°, I, 1233, 1194. Memoirs of the Long Island Hist. Society, II, 520-522.

A subsequent "return" of the First Regiment of Maryland Regulars and of six Independent Companies, shows the frightful havoc which had been wrought in their ranks. The following tabulated statement of the five companies enumerated above will illustrate this:

Companies.	*Original Muster.*	*Returned.*	*Fit for duty.*
Capt. Bowie (dead)	76	9	6
Capt. Ford	76	24	13
Capt. Lucas	76	15	8
Capt. Adams	76	17	6
Capt. Veazey (dead)	100	31	2
	404	96	35

It has been impossible to discover an exact and complete list of the men composing the "Maryland 400" as they stood on the 27th of August, 1776, the date of the battle of Long Island. We know, however, the respective companies that deserve the honor of special mention in connection with that memorable historical event, and rather than suffer the names of all of these heroic Marylanders to pass into oblivion, we have appended the original lists of the companies of Captains *Bowie, Ford, Lucas, Adams* and *Veazey.*[4]

In the case of Capt. Edward Veazey's Independent Company of Militia of Kent and Queen Anne's Counties, the entire muster roll is missing, only the roster of the officers being preserved (see Md. Arch., XII, 358, 488).

Attached hereto will be found the lists referred to in the foregoing introductory statement.

[4] These lists include enlistments from January to about the middle of May, 1776, and the rolls as they stand were probably completed in July and August of that year.

"Maryland Four Hundred."

Major Mordecai Gist, Commanding.

First Company.

John Hoskins Stone, Captain.
Daniel Bowie, 1st Lieut.[5]
John Kidd, 2nd Lieut.
James Fernandis, Sergeant
John Mitchell, Sergeant
Samuel Jones, Sergeant
Charles Smith, Sergeant
Thos. Simpson, Corporal

Privates—
Andrew Ross Lindsay
Andrew Green Sims
Thomas Norris
Ignatius Doyglass
William Smoot
Edmund Cox
William Wheatly
John Boen
John Hopson
John Adams
Thos. Way Connell
Joseph Cheatham
James Thompson
Samuel Thompson
John Plant
Thomas Smith
Jonathan Chunn
George Thomas
James Sims, Jr.
Samuel Wheatly
Bernard Nash

William Courts, Cadet
Henry Ridgely, Cadet
James Sims, Sr., Corporal
Samuel Hanson, Corporal
Samuel McPherson, Corporal
Henry Walworth, Drummer
Dennis Broderick, Fifer

Privates—
John McPherson
Clement Edelen
Patrick Brady
Francis Sherhard
Samuel Kurk
Francis Green Baggott
Charles Green
Charles Griffin
John Ward
Richard Sheake
Edward Edelen
Saml. Hamilton
Francis Ware Luckett
Matthew Garner
Nathaniel Downing
Josias Miller
John Shaw
Edward Smith
John Norris
Joseph Jason Jenkins
James Hoge

[5] Captain, in command, at Long Island.

John Neal
Luke Matthew Sherburn
Samuel Luckitt
John Skipper
Thomas Burrows
Samuel Granger
Alban Smith
Edward Green
John Smith
Benjamin Gray
Richard Smith
John Smoot
William Clark
John Neary
Samuel Vermillion
Truman Hilton
Gilbert Garland
Mark McPherson

SECOND COMPANY.

Patk. Sims, Captain
Benj. Ford, 1st Lieut.[6]
John Burgis, Cadet
Walter Cox, Cadet
John Richardson, Sergeant
Peter Clarke, Sergeant
Edward Spurrier, Sergeant
Alexius Conner, Sergeant
Privates—
Jonathan Robinson
John Lindsay
Coxon Talbott
Lawrence Querney
James Mitchell
Peter Gallworth
Bozely Wright
Milburn Cox
John Willey
James Adams
Hugh Tomlin
Amos Green
Christr. Brumbargher
Thomas Simpkins
Elisha Everit
John Beans, 2nd Lieut.
Henry Gaither, Ensign
Michael Burgis, Corporal
Gazaway Watkins, Corporal
John Elson, Corporal
Henry Leek, Corporal
Benj. Lewis, Drummer
Thos. Horson, Fifer
Privates—
Thos. Conner
John Russel
John Edelin
Danl. Rankins
James Perry
Richard Cox
Joseph Steward
Thomas Walsh
John Walker
Chas. Burroughs
Philip Jinkins
Ben. Burroughs
Francis Thompson
Francis Osborne
Michael Barnitt

[6] Captain, in command, at Long Island.

Willm. Skipper
Willm. Heyder
Philip King
Richd. Johnson
John Veach
Patrick Nowlan
Moses McNew
Jacob Penn
James Byzch
Ben. Vermillion
Richd. Lowe
Robt. Nelson
Basil Ridgly
Michael Waltz
Willm. Evans
John Grant
Paul Hagarty
Elias Perry
Veach Burgis
Jacob Holland
Middleton Marlow
John D. Lanham
John Mills
Thos. Perkins
Henry Lanham
Edward Blacklock
John Rodery
Robt. Sapp
Thos. Daws
Edmd. Carroll
Edwd. Jones

THIRD COMPANY.

Barton Lucas, Capt.[7]
Wm. Sterrett, 1st Lieut.
Peter Brown, Sergeant
James Burnes, Sergeant
Zacha. Tannahill, Sergeant
Levin Will Coxen, Sergeant
Saml. Hamiltone, Corporal
Alex. Roxburgh, 2nd Lieut.
Wm. Ridgely, Ensign
Benedict Woodward, Corporal
Benjn. Warner, Corporal
Zacha. Gray, Corporal
Geo. Rex Leonard, Drummer
Joshua Saffell, Fifer

Privates—
John Cissell
Zacha. Tilly
Christopher Beal
Leonard Watkins
Thomas Scott
Daniel McKay
John Baker
John Dunn
Abijah Buxtone
Nathan Peake
Timothy Collins
Jeremiah Owings
Joseph Barry
John Armstrong
George Wright
Philip Weller

[7] Reported "sick" at time of the battle (Mem. L. I. Hist. Soc., II, 527-528.

Hugh Conn
Robt. Lesache
John Brown
Benjn. Kelly
Josias Connally
Rhody Hously
James Murphy [8]
George Knott
John Enright
Thos. Murray
William Pearce
Charles Jones
Josiah Hatton
Richard Stone
Samuel Ray
George Hamiltone
John Fleming
John Wood
Richard Brookes
Zacha. Willing
Richard Wade
John Owings
Alex. Jackson
John Murphy
John Jackson
John Flint
Amos Allen
John Hughes
Thos. Forguson
Obediah Sumers
Absolam Stevenson
John Halsey
Thos. Windom
James Smith
George Evauns
Thos. Shannen
George Leadbarn
Michl. Catons
James Hurdle
Francis Cole
Alex. Allen
Wm. Baker
Garret Brinkenhoof
John Rex Leonard
Bazil Jenkins
Bartholomew Finn
Roddey Owings
George Read
James Gardiner
Patk. Collins
Zachariah Hutchins (?)

SIXTH COMPANY.

Peter Adams, Captain [9]
Nathl. Ewing, 1st Lieut.
Joseph Elliott, Sergeant
Edward Edgerly, Sergeant
Thomas McKeel, Sergeant
Alex. Murray, 2nd Lieut.
John Jordan, Ensign
Privates—
Thos. Cooper
Saml. McCubbin

[8] Lost left leg and was captured.
[9] Reported "sick" at time of the battle (Mem. L. I. Hist. Soc., II, 527-528).

Thomas Dwyer, Sergeant
Danl. Dwigens, Corporal
Saml. Dwigens, Corporal
Jas. Rogan, Corporal
Danl. Floyd, Corporal
Robert Ross, Drummer
Chas. McKeel, Fifer
Privates—
John Clark
Zacha. Nicholson
Henry Covington
Wm. Laighton
Wm. McDaniel
George Jackson
John Hatton
Alex. Wright
John Floyd
Elijah Floyd
Moses Floyd
John McFadon
Carbry Burn
John McClain
John Johnson
Jas. Kelly
Willm. McGregor
Thos. Fisher
John Powell
Joseph Pirkens
Joseph Bootman
Hugh Wallace
Willm. McDaniel 2d
James Bell
Henry Clift
Wm. Glover
John Bryan
Wm. Holms
Wm. Ray
Thos. Laffy
Jas. Kirk
Wm. Leeson
John Lowry
John McClain, of Harford
Alex. Fulton
Jas. Craig
Robert Man
Patk. Quigley
Wm. Locke
Wm. Nagle
John Lynch
Hugh McClain
Jas. Carmichael
Thos. Williams
John Kerby
Jas. Gibson
Jno. Galway
Robt. Ritchie
Wm. Aitken
Hugh Galway
John Morrow
Geo. Dowling
Wm. Clark
Wm. Temple
John Phelps
James Barkley
Crisenberry Clift

SEVENTH INDEPENDENT MARYLAND COMPANY.

Queen Anne's and Kent Counties.[10]

Edward Veazey, Capt.
William Harrison, 1st Lieut.
Samuel Turbutt Wright, 2nd Lieut.
Edward DeCourcy, 3rd Lieut.

WILLIAM FRANCIS BRAND

[AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH]

Of an irascible impatient temper my early life was very unhappy; and habits then formed and tendencies then strengthened have influenced subsequent life. When quite young I lost my mother, a woman of decided intellectual ability and deep piety, active in all charitable works. She must have given a religious bias to my mind for I recall the reflections that checked my flowing tears the day she died. I said to myself—"What right to be crying for my mother when she has gone to heaven?" All my life through the picturing of my mother has been—is even now—a guide and restraint. My loving father was indulgent but like most busy men failed to perceive the heart needs of a motherless boy. Neglected and lonely I became moody and resentful; my Arab spirit made me bad in many ways, yet I was always truthful. I had a right to be resentful. I was soon sent to school, and was changed from one to another. In one of these a brute thrashed me on the bare back with a window sash cord—when my only offence was that over a Latin

[10] Veazey's muster rolls. papers and personal effects were directed to his father by mistake, instead of being forwarded to the Council at Annapolis. It appears that they were lost in transit. The writer knows the name of only one private in this company, namely, *William Sheild*, of Kent County, Md., whose widow, living in 1854 aged about 90 years, stated that her husband had served under Capt. Edward Veazey six months (F. B. C.).

verb I had fallen into a nervous fit of crying—"Cried for nothing" the brute said. Under his lash my eyes were dry—tears were burnt up by rage and hatred. In a large French boarding school I had no right recognized by larger boys;—they took what was mine, treated me as they pleased and found constant pleasure in setting other boys on the "dam Americaine." Here I lived in a ceaseless fight.—Worse! I saw here in open day *every* lascivious act that can be imagined but not spoken of. In another school I was once pointed out to the French Bishop visitor as "the lieutenant of the lazy ones" when I was bright and willing to learn if not in a state of hostility. In this school I one day broke out in open rebellion against the teacher's injustice—never went back to his room, and was not missed from the class. I do not mean that my boyhood was wholly unhappy, but what I endured and what I lacked bred anger and resentment and idleness and secretiveness.

By God's grace I was kept from the wicked filth in the midst of which I had, at one time, lived; but the remembrance of what I saw and heard is like the impress of a finger on a fresh coin. I early found solace in reading. Don Quixote was my first delight. My first novels—I was still a boy—were Smollett's and Fielding's. When I was about eleven, not 12—I was sent to a private school near Lexington, Ky. Here my education began. A loving and wise, as well as learned, old man made me his companion. If his discipline had been stricter it would have been better for me. My easy free life did not strengthen me against what my friend, rather than schoolmaster, called "the seductions of the siren Desidia." I had always—strangely *proprio motu,* not from the leading of others—been religiously inclined: While at this school I became what was called "a professor of religion"; without any knowledge of dogma, I simply felt it to be a duty to confess Christ.

I spent some months in New Orleans under hurtful circumstances, and was then sent to Charlottesville, Va., to enter the University. I was too young by a year, and was but little the

better prepared—when I reaehed the statutory age whieh is sixteen. From 15 I was lord of myself with no restraint stronger than self will. At the University I took two degrees. My eourse was broken by resentment of what I still think gross injustiee on the part of a professor: and so I am without an aeademic degree. I would not attend the classes of the man who wronged me, and was forced to resign. In his idea of the University on which he prided himself Jefferson overlooked the needs of boys—a boy I was at nineteen when I left Virginia. The next six months were passed in an arehitect's offiee in Philadelphia, Penna. Then I was reealled to New Orleans, and was not long after sent to France. Whatever may have been expeeted this was the result. Without stint as to money, and responsible to myself only I did but little study in Paris, and then passed some 18 months in pleasant travel and sight seeing. On my return home my father wisely concluded that I was not fitted for his business; and *faute de mieux* I drifted into a lawyer's offiee. Perhaps I might have preferred to be a doetor—I wished to know something about the human frame, and went to hear a friend leeture; the first time I went into the dissecting room I was laid hold upon by varioloid and never returned. In the course of time I was examined in full court and the judges had the hardihood to declare me to be "learned in the law." While at the Bar I assisted my brother-in-law in the preparation of "Harrison's Condensed Reports." Would I have ever sueeeeded at the Bar? An experieneed man said to me—I was a quasi help in his offiee—"Brand, you will make a lawyer one of these days; and I'll tell you when. It will be when you hear your children ery. There are two motives that make a lawyer; one is ambition: you have not any; the other is love of money: of this you have less." I did not wait for the stimulus that made a chaneellor of Erskine. Before very long I determined to change my eourse in life. My father had long feared that sueh would be my ehoice and when I told him that I had determined to be a elergyman I had every reason to suppose that I would now have to care for myself. To my

surprise he told me that he would provide for me as he had always done. In the guise of a rich young man of the South I entered the General Theological Seminary in New York, being the first candidate for orders in the Diocese of Louisiana. I cannot but remember the impression made on me when I was told that the potatoes and onions which I saw at the door of the building belonged to a student who cooked his own food. Could gentlemen live in this way? is what I thought. The course at the Seminary is one of three years. It was the middle of my second year when, without previous intimation, I received notice that I must no longer draw for money as I had thus far done; that my drafts could no longer be honored. I cannot here state the cause of this surprise. In fact I never too carefully enquired. Only I must say that it was through no lack of love or generosity on the part of my father. I had then eleven and a quarter dollars in my pocket. I at once wrote to my Bishop asking what I should do. I did not hear from him. Instead there came, after a time, a letter from the rector of St. Paul's parish in N. Orleans in his own name, offering me money on certain terms. From him personally I would accept nothing. When I saw Bp Polk—gentleman that he was—he approved my refusal, and was much mortified that *his* provision for me, which I would have accepted, had been perverted by a man who did not appreciate the feelings of a gentleman. It was then too late to change plans that had been formed. With 11.25 in store what could I do? I cannot tell of different proposals. Only I venture to say of myself that with a trusting cheerful heart I looked upon the blank future. At first, I did not try cooking potatoes and onions, but I did live on crackers and cheese with an occasional egg and a quart of milk furnished me by a dealer who was teacher in the Sunday school of which I was superintendent. Then, on his having learned from a fellow student that I was breaking down through lack of food—I had actually fainted—good Dean Turner procured for me, in a girls' school to which he sent his daughter, the place of teacher of French. My terms with the mistress were "You

will give me something to eat, and make out of me what you can."

Before the end of the seminary year I had been persuaded by a very near friend to allow him to care for me during the remainder of my course. In 1842 I was graduated with no special distinction. I was not, and am not, a scholar. I had been transferred from Louisiana to New York: on the of September 1842 I was made Deacon by Bishop B. T. Onderdonk. Soon after I went to my friends in Maryland. Bp. Whittingham had been my friend as well as professor at the seminary. He said to me: "I would not keep you from Louisiana but if you are not going back, I have a claim on you." I consented and before the end of the year he sent me to a vacant parish—All Hallows, Anne Arundel Co., one of the original parishes established in 1692. The vestry accepted me, curtly saying "Mr. Brand, we have agreed to engage you." Nothing was said about the terms of the engagement. When I gave myself to God's service in the ministry I believed in His declaration that "the labourour is worthy of his hire," but I determined to trust Him for the care of His servant. This trust was tried during my stay at All Hallows. I had nothing to live on but free gifts. These were very irregular. Sometimes I had abundance, and at times very little; my family, *i. e.*, my wife, a widowed sister and two children have had on the table nothing but mush and molasses. The brave women never complained; and the truth was not known to my kind but thoughtless people. At the end of six or seven years my wife's family proposed that I should go to their neighborhood. They would build me a church, and they shewed a probability of gathering a congregation. I sent them to the Bishop. He promptly bade me go! Thereupon I resigned my parish with sincere regret. The year or more that followed was without clerical duty. This gave me what was absolutely necessary, for my health had been broken by malaria. In time a church was built, a plain stone structure with a solid open roof. In the lapse of 45 years this has been made a much admired building,

all its windows filled with best English glass; one representing the crucifixion, unsurpassed in the United States, nine oil paintings in the chancel, and everything in accord. And all this free offerings. The first service was on the day of the consecration (which implies that the building was paid for). On this day, 25 May 1851 the five men whom I had induced to act as vestrymen, chose me to be their rector. I had called them, even as in the days that followed, I gathered the congregation of St. Mary's Church, Harford Co., Md. Here through more than half a century I have remained, rector of a small country parish.

Here is my estimate of myself. He who wrote "They also serve who only stand and wait," had been a man of much labour in many ways. Even in his blindness his "one talent" was not "lodged with him useless": he was ever energetic, his mind active. It has not been so with me. At best I have but been among them that only stand and wait. To wait upon the Lord is a virtue; but not one to attract the notice of men. I have not even been zealous in my calling. Not many have served, after whatever fashion, so long as I have. They must be few who can say with me "I have never had a salary." Probably there is none other in our Church of whom it can be said "He never had a call from a vestry." This may be true of me because my light has been dim. I have not been wanted. But it is also true I have never sought advancement in the Church, euphemistically called "a wider field of usefulness." Ten years ago the 17th June happened to be Sunday. I preached on the 90th psalm. When I came to the words "Tho' men be so strong that they come to four score years yet is their strength then but labour and sorrow," I said "Brethren the words of the psalmist are not without exception; I am this day eighty years old, and I am a happy old man." I would say this now—a decade later. Not because life has ever been without trials; but because God has blessed me with a thankful trusting heart. In the habit of tracing every enjoyment to the

author of every good gift I am prepared to accept, with more than submission, sorrow sent by the same loving Father.

It has been more than intimated that the memorial of me that is to appear in "The Men of Mark" will be other than the obituary notice given in a Church Almanac, and I have been asked to save him the trouble of search. A biographer seeks to know *what* his subject *is*. I have therefore written, for his eye only, openly, what I might say to near friends desirous to know what I am and what has made me what I am through the grace of God.

December 5th, 1904.

[Doctor Brand was born in New Orleans, La., June 17th, 1814, and died in Harford county February 18th, 1907, nine days after the death of Mrs. Brand. Early in the forties he moved to Maryland and engaged in the ministerial work in which his whole life was subsequently passed. He was admitted to the diaconate of the Episcopal Church in September, 1842; in 1843 he married Sophia McHenry Hall, and in March, 1844, was ordained to the priesthood.

For many years he conducted a school for young men which was largely patronized until about 1878, when, owing to the advanced age of Doctor and Mrs. Brand, it was given up.

Doctor Brand was a man of profound learning. He was an able theologian and a forceful writer. One of his principal works was the life of Bishop Whittingham, a delightful work and a valuable contribution to Maryland Church history, published in 1883. A second edition, with additions, was published in 1886.

Besides many contributions to periodical literature he published: *A sermon preached on the death of William F. Barnard,* n. p. 1864; *A personal explanation involving history and dogma,* Baltimore, 1879; *Sketch of the life and character of Nathaniel Ramsay,* Baltimore, 1887.]

EXTRACTS FROM THE CARROLL PAPERS

(Continued from Vol. XIII, p. 267.)

Aug^{t} 30th 1771 [171]

D^{r} Charley

I have both y^{rs} of the 27th ins^{t}, those w^{h} the Boy dropt are not Come to hand tho I may probably get them on the return of the Wagon. I shall send to Shipley to Come to me. I shall send to M^{r} Hammond Do: Houstons Acc^{t} to know whether He Deliverd the Shingles Charged. I Cannot properly Answer what you wrote Relating to the Decree & must therefore refer it untill wee meet Fell & Bond Sligh's securities died I apprehend in good Circumstances, I suppose the Ex^{rs} or adm^{rs} may be proceeded ag^{t}, I think there was Judgment ag^{t} Fells Ex^{rs} or adm^{rs} where assets, Consult Johnson on this before the Provinciall, Carry a shed the whole length of the Old & New Coach House, half the shed to Contain two stalls for Running Horses, the other ½ will Conveniently hold 4 Cowes: The loft of the Coach Houses being lay'd will Hold Hay w^{h} may be let into the Racks of the sheds by stripping of the Plank, which boxes up the tends of the Joice & Rafters, you will find the sheds Convenient & it would look oddly to have only ½ the Coach House sheded. As you Begin y^{r} Journey northward the 1st of Octo^{r} I will be with you on the 21st of Sep^{r}. I Received the sample of P: J: wheat. Ca^{b} Dorsey has been & is at Linganore, so th^{t} Do^{r} Howard has not had an opportunity of Asking Him who profer'd Him 7/ for wheat, I think He had no such offer. My Advertisements at Baltimore Towne Have not yet induced anyone to Apply to me.

We have had severall Refreshing showers this month. One last tuesday night, those in the Beginning of the month Retarded the stacking of my Oates & Hay. These showers Have rather kept things alive than promoted their growth.

Our Corn does not fill well, if we had had a soaking shower about the 10 or 15 of this month we should have made a great Crop of Corn & tob^{o} the want of it will I think at all Places shorten the Corn at least 200 Barrills & the tob^{o} in Proportion they are the Worst of, at Organars & Glens. But if we have As good Rain in 4 or 5 days I hope to make a Tolerable Crop of Corn & tob^{o} Maybe 1800 Barrills of Corn. Nothing but Rain is wanting to make the Oldfield tob^{o} before the House very good, it has been ploughed since Planted four times each way, & they are now going over it with their Hoes the 3^{d} time, the ground was twice Ploughed & well with the seed Plough this spring before it was Planted, if we have rain soon & the frost keeps away untill the last of Sept^{r} it will be good tob^{o} for it is now of a good Colour & a great deal of it pretty forward the tob^{o} in Valentines meadow is large & Promises well, the new grained tob^{o} is pretty good but not so large & substantiall as it would have been with more Rain, it will be Housed next week at Least the greatest part of it. The wheat & Rye is sowed every where but at the Folly, they had 32 Bushells in there last night & I expect they will sow all their Corn ground to-morrow. The Clover fields Can Hardly be sowed before the 15th of next month as the Clover Cannot be Cut Cured & Carryed of before the last of next week the seed not being Ripe. Clark is there & forwards Business much, I think He will turn out a usefull man. You did not Answer me about Employing M^{r} Clarks Brother at Annapolis Quarter. We have been hard pushed to get thro our Business with so sickly a Gang, sometimes not less than 4 or 5 of our working Hands at this Place being downe at a time, the disorder is a lax attended with a griping & feavours & in many it has been a Flux, it has in no instance been bad, owing I suppose to its being attended to in time. My Man Will is much out of order. He has been Complaining 3 Weeks past of feavours & 3 or 4 days of a Pain in His side, a Blister was applyed to it last night which has risen well. I am sorry to say M^{rs} Darnell is this day very unwell. She was taken with a Lax last night, she has taken a Vomit this

morning & will follow the Regimen w^{h} has been Successful with others & hope she will soon get rid of the Disorder. She Cannot write but gives Her love to you & Her Mama. Y^{r} Horse is much mended. He gathers flesh, His Flanks are much fallen, the swelling in His Spavin'd leg is quite downe But He still rises with much difficulty, from this I think the Chief Seat of His disorder to be in His Loins. He feeds standing & lays downe not much more than other Horses. I Have not seen the Farrier since the 18th ins^{t}. He has been over in Baltimore. I once thought to send y^{r} Horse downe in the Wagon, But I did not know how Molly would have taken it. Nimble has too great a Belly. I have ordered Him to be taken up I think He will be in good travelling order ag^{t} you want Him. Give my Service to M^{r} Deards & desier Him to send 1 Coarse lime sifter 1 d^{o} fiver & 1 hand saw with what Osnabrigs & Cotton the Cart Can Conveniently bring & to Give Himself the trouble to order my Cloaths to be aired & my Wiggs Combed out & Rebuckled. I am just told th^{t} there is but one Bottle & ½ of spirit in the House, therefore be pleased to send me 2 D^{zn} of Spirit. Send also 2 D^{zn} of Burgundy & 2 D^{zn} of Cote Roti, I don't want any Hermitage, the other sorts may sute some who Call Here & may like the Wine for the sake of its name. I am told the Wagon will Carry you 4 Barrills of fine flour 2d^{o} of Seconds & Eight Bushells of Oates. I am well. My love & Blessing to you all. I hope to Hear that you are well. I am D^{r} Charley

Y^{r} Mo: Aff^{t} Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. Can you tell when Coll
Sharpe will be up. the
last of my tob^{o} went yesterday
to the Landing Vzt. 8 hgds.

Aug. 26th 1771 [172]

D^{r} Charley

The boy lost the letters you gave him I hope they Contained nothing you would desier to be secret. He tells me you are all well. I shovld have been glad to have heard th^{t} from you.

I Have seen the Pensilvania Journall, send me The Pensilvania & our Gazet.

Pray press Wallace to treat with Howard I Hear one of the Hammonds is in treaty with Howard to Exchange Lands, if Howard sells to th^{m} no hopes of Getting the Land from them. Wallace may be indolant, are not you more so in not Constantly pressing Him to treat wth Howard. I Have sent downe 54 hgds they weigh 55434 net. I have 8 still Here which will go downe to Morrow or Wednesday but 3 of them would not pass the inspector, Simpson owes one for w^{h} I expect a note to Morrow. Johnson, Has delivered M^{r} West notes for 49 Hgds weighing 50.152 & He writes me He shall Deliver Him 10 more. Johnson is to be with me the 5th of Sep^{r} to settle. As you did not send up y^{r} Riding Horse I suppose He is better. May I not Expect you about the Beginning of Sep^{r} if so when? We are very dry, tob^{o} does not grow. My love & Blessing to you Molly & my little Darling, tell Molly to write particularly about Her to Her Mama. I am D^{r} Charley

Y^{r} mo: Aff^{t} Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. My Service to M^{r} Deards if
He wrote His letter miscarried
with y^{rs}

Sep^{r} 2: 1771 [173]

D^{r} Charley

I find the Lamb was not sent by the Wagon. I must see th^{t} it is sent by the next opportunity otherways they may again forget to send it. M^{r} Rigges was with me this day. He asks £45 ster. I must give it. He is to be here again this week to View the Plantations which are to be immediately under His Care. His superintendance is to be Extend to all. We had a very Seasonable & Soaking Rain last night, it will greatly Help everything, tob^{o} Wheat sowed, Pastures, it is rather too late to help the Corn much. M^{rs} Darnall is much better, but very weak. We lost a Girl 6 y^{rs} old at Frosts. Joiner Jack is ill

with the Flux, I hope not Dangerously. I drew this Day on Perkins &c to Pay Peter Beecraft £31: 3: 3 ster. Pray note it in y^{r} Blotter & advise it. I this Day payed An Acc^{t} of W^{m} Hammond ag^{t} me £22: 6: 2 & M^{r} Brown £41 in Part of £71: 7: 0 His acc^{t} ag^{t} me. I have not 10/ in the House but I expect a Supply this week from Jos: Johnsons, Endeed I want it for with Browns Ball^{ce} I owed £70 odd Pounds beside Frosts & Turnbulls wages w^{h} will be due early in the winter & wages to some Hierlings I have employed to Carry on my Vineyard &c &c. My love & Blessing to you Molly & my Darling. I am D^{r} Charley

Y^{r} mo: Aff^{t} Father
Cha: Carroll

P. S.

Monday Night. The Wagon is not Come at ½ an hour after 7 a'Clock. I do not expect it untill midnight or later as I think the Rain kept it untill past 8 this morning.

Sep^{r} 4th 1771 [174]

D^{r} Charley

I have y^{rs} of the 1st & 2^{d} ins^{t}. I approve of the Additions to the Coach House, money layed out in usefull & lasting improvements is well layed out. When it is layed out in things of shew it is flung away. If you intend to ever to put Carriages into the Cow House will not the 6 feet folding Doors be too small?

Nimble was taken up 3 or 4 days before I received y^{rs}. The Stallion is only put up in the night. He had better on all Acc^{ts} be out in the Day it will give Him Flesh & a Belly & He wants Both. Nimbles Belly is taken up. He will be in very good order for y^{r} Journey. I think you will do well not to send for them before the 21st or 22 ins^{t} they will only be a Charge to you if sent downe sooner. I propose when my tob^{o} is Housed & Fother got in to Cart to the Head of the River 4 or 500 Bushells of Oates if I find they Can be spared & to get th^{m} to Annapolis before y^{r} Return.

Pray Give my Compliments to the Gov^{r} & His Brother tell th^{m} I shall be very Glad to see th^{m} & think myself Honoured

by their Company. I do suppose Coll Sharpe will Come with th^{m}. You gave the 1st Intelligence of Miss Digges match wth T: Lee to be depended on, M^{r} S: Brooke told us of it, but I looked upon it only as a Report.

I wrote to Brown by the 20th post & desiered Clem^{t} Brooke to send an Express with it. I suppose His of the 20th post was wrote after He Received myne altho He takes no notice of the Receit of myne. I Have appointed Him to be with me in Annapolis the 2^{d} of Octo^{r}. The Cottons & Osnabrigs were opened & dryed. Our Wheat Comes up well. The Clover Lay at Heesons about 24^{a} which is all the Wheat ground w^{h} Remains to be sowed will be sowed before the 15th ins^{t}. The old field tob^{o} before the House growes finely, I think it will in Generall be good & th^{t} if it does not all Come to the House the deficiency will not amount to 3000 Plants. Since my last I Have delivered 5 more hgds of tob^{o} to M^{r} West net 4625. I have 3 hgds at the Landing w^{h} Have been Refused net 2577. I expect One hgd more from Simpson a Tenant.

I sent for the letters th^{t} were lost & I just got th^{m}. As M^{r} Lewellin has no title it is not worth purchasing, many others have as good a title as Lewellin & if you Purchase y^{r} Peace from Him you must expect to do so from all the others or to be perpetually molested. However you may Acquaint M^{r} Neale th^{t} you Cannot listen to any Vague proposall, th^{t} if M^{r} Lewellin will Come to you & be Particular you will give Him an Answer & th^{t} in the mean time the Matter may be Postponed to the next Provinciall after this Sep^{r}. If Lewellin will Come to you let Him Come sometime in January or early in Febru: when I shall be in Towne. A Reference is lyable to the same objections. Lewellin is tierd of an Expence w^{h} He sees to be a fruitless one.

M^{r} Jos. Johnson is just Come I must dispatch Him & therefore shall say no more than th^{t} I give my love & Blessing to you Molly & my Darling & wish you all Health & Happyness. I am D^{r} Charley

Y^{r} mo: Aff^{t} Father
Cha: Carroll

Sep^{r} 5: 1771 [174]

D^{r} Charley

Johnson Received & Has payed to M^{r} West 59857 tob^{o}, He paid to me £124: 17: 8 Curr^{t}. His Commissions on the tob^{o} money, the Cost of a Wagon, money paid some tenants for small tob^{o} Ballances due to th^{m} & some other small Acc^{ts} Amounts to £40: 14: 11 so th^{t} the net sum Received is but £84: 2: 9. Simpson has p^{d} His hgd. M^{rs} Darnall Had the Cholick last night, she is not yet up, But Nancy tells me she is easy this morning. She dined with us yesterday & goes about but is much Reduced I thank God I am in good Health May He Grant the same Blessing to you Molly & my Darling. I am D^{r} Charley

Y^{r} mo: Aff^{t} Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. Geo: Scot late sherif of
Frederick died of the flux
at Frederick Towne last Tuesday.
Joiner Jack is Better

Sep^{r} 13th 1771 [175]

D^{r} Charley

I answered the greatest part of y^{rs} of the 8th ins^{t} By M^{r} Loury. I yesterday Received y^{rs} of the 10th by M^{r} Rossiter. Great Care is taken of Nimble & the Spavin'd Horse, the 1st is fat, as slick as a Race Horse & in Excellent order. the 2^{d} is much as I last wrote to you if you desier it I will order Him to be led to Towne after the Wagon the 21st ins^{t} you may then judge what to do with Him; He is Certainly better than when He Came Here. I have not seen the Farrier since last Sunday was 3 weeks, He is in Baltimore County. Did you Pay H: Brown £30: 7: 0 my Ball^{e} to Him. Do^{r} Houston's Acc^{t} is Right Ball^{e} due to Him £27: 8: 9 w^{h} I desier you will Pay. I dont doubt but you will provide money to pay for Leather &c bought by M^{r} Harding for us.

3

Amount of Tob^{o} Delivered He: West at Rock Creek	59857
d^{o} from E. Ridge	60059
	119916
Simpsons Hgd at d^{o} Weight not yet knowne	
I hgd at Rock Creek last year	1004
Poplar Island tob^{o}	19159
	140079

I Have 3 hgds at the Landing Refused beside the above 2577 net. I need not say anything to you about Craycroft & Gardiner as their Acc^{ts} will tell you all I know on th^{t} Subject. Shipley has been with me I want the Courses of the Land He Mortgaged, they are in the deed Hammond made to Him, which deed is in the County Office send for it as soon as this Comes to y^{r} Hand & Copy the Courses from it & send th^{m} to me. Shipley Consults I should sell the Land & if it does not Pay what He owes He will give His Bond for the Ball^{e}. I expect Hourly Jos. Dorsey to take up His Protested Bill & Edw^{d} Dorsey to Give Bills for Chris^{r} Sewalls Ball^{ce}. Our new ground tob^{o} Here has been Housed 3 or 4 days past, We have begun this day to Cut the Old field tob^{o} before the House, what is standing growes well, but the dry weather in Aug^{t} obliged us to top it too low. We finished sowing wheat at the Folly last Tuesday & Harrowing it in last night. Our Wheat & Rye is Come up well every where. Jenny is mending & none of our People in Danger, tho very many of th^{m} unable to work out. Charming Pastures. Will the Gov^{r} & His B^{r} Come or not? I suppose not, if Loury Deliver'd you my letter. Borrow of M^{rs} Eden ½ a D^{zn} or more of Her Latest English news Papers, I will Return th^{m} when I Come to Annapolis. M^{rs} Darnall is much better. I am well. My love & Blessing to you Molly & my little Darling. God grant you all perfect Health. I am D^{r} Charley

Y^{r} mo: Aff^{t} Father

Cha: Carroll

Sep^{r} 15 1771 [176]

D^{r} Charley

I have y^{rs} of the 11th & 12th by Johny I return you D. D^{s} opinion. M^{r} Igna^{s} Digges has Given me & you a great deale of trouble, it is just He should in His turn meet with some Mortification.

I never liked y^{r} northern Jaunt but I did not Chuse to thwart Mollys inclination tho I think she will when it is over be of opinion th^{t} the Pleasure will not Answer the Expence fatigue & other Inconveniences attending it, you Cannot be well spared from Annapolis & it will be very Hurtfull to our interest Here for me to be so long absent at this Season.

When I see the farrier I will put y^{r} Riding Horse into His hands. You will have it th^{t} my People are not well fed, it is true they do not live so well as our House negroes, But full as well as any Plantation negroes & think I Can safely say no man in Maryland Can shew in proportion to our number, such likely well looking slaves. You are out in attributing the present Disorder to the want of food, others & many round me are in the same Condition, & Do^{r} Wharfield last night told me th^{t} on Linganore only He had upwards of 70 Patients with the same Complaint.

I Cannot see any good end Can be Answered by treating with Lewellin, it will but encourage other Claimants. If He should Come it will be proper to Ask Him whether He will give a General warrant if He Refuses as no doubt He will, He may be told th^{t} nothing but th^{t} Could induce us to treat with him. M^{r} W: D. does not Accept my days of Grace Put the Papers immediately into M^{r} Cooke's hands. I do not file a Bill ag^{t} Him to Expose Him. But to Recover a debt w^{h} I am Convinced Cannot be got by any other means, this 20 odd years Experience Evinces(?) Can any thing but a Bill put an end to His Evasient delays, Has He ever shewn an inclination to Pay? I Return His letter which I desier you will put with the Rest. I believe you will find Nimble to be in very fine order & Hope y^{r} Horse will be so ag^{t} y^{r} Return. . . .

Nov^{r} 6th 1771 [177]

D^{r} Charley

I got here yesterday a ¼ after two a Clock. I this morning walked round the Plantation & found every thing in pretty good order & I am told it is so at all the other Plantations. I have order'd a Cow to be sent you on friday. Ellick goes wth this to wait on M^{rs} Darnall w^{h} I hope on Mollys acc't will be soon. I will send my Chair to meet Her when & where she shall direct. By the Cow driver I Hope to Hear th^{t} you Molly & our little Girl are well & what is doeing in the Assembly, I must owne I do not expect anything will be done if the Upper House adhere to their proposition Relating to the Clergy. If you Receive any letter from Ja^{s} Hunter send me a Copy of it & advise Clem^{t} Brooke what Hunter says to His proposall. I would Accept 30 Barrills of Hunters Pork at £3 : 15 : 0 Our Currency if He does not offer it Cheaper. . . .

Nov^{r} 8th 1771 [178]

D^{r} Charley

I have y^{rs} of the 6th by Jack. I have order'd Squires to go downe to morrow with the Cow driver, if He should push of let me know it, but I do not expect He will. Between us I think the Upper House by their proposition about the Clergy act in a most impudent maner, we may Publickly disapprove their Conduct but not in such harsh terms, because it may be prejudiciall to us without answering any good End, former Gov^{rs} used to Place the Councill as a Screen between themselves & the People, the Case is Reversed, if the Gov^{r} acknowledges instructions not to Clip the 40 p^{r} Poll.

I had the Opinion about Escheats w^{h} you mention it was in the Walnut tree press w^{h} stood in the Pasasge between the two Houses, if you have moved it thence it may be in the old secretare in the Chappell, if you did not with other Papers move it into Deards press in the Study. It is in a Bundle or Bundles with other opinions & Papers Relating to Lord Baltimores affairs, or to the Roman Catholicks, or my Fathers Commissions & instructions from L^{d} Baltimore, I think I saw it

when I looked for an opinion about the Secretarys tenths, w^{h} opinion I Could not then find tho Certain I am th^{t} I once Had it. . . .

Nov^{r} 13th 1771 [179]

D^{r} Charley

I Have y^{rs} of the 8th I question whether Fowlers Ball & Emitt & Cochrans Ballance Can be Recovered the note of Fowler being out of Date & Many owing the Ball^{ce} due from Emit Cochran: I have wrote often to th^{m} & lately but Cannot get th^{m} to Come to me Dilling lives about 20 miles from me. He will pay next Summer or may be sooner. A pair of Cart wheels 6 Inches tred are made & allmost tired. A pair 5 Inches tred were made for you long ago & as M^{r} Ireland says by y^{r} direction. Does not the Corporation Law require Broader tred than 6 Inches? Consider well before you give directions. You will see by M^{r} Brashes's letter inclosed th^{t} He Cannot take Hunters Pork on the terms He offers it at, nor Can I, but I will take the 30 Barrills He Has directed His Brother to purchase for me with thanks & desier it may be sent as soon as possible & th^{t} He will let us know when wee may expect it. It may be proper to send Him a Copy of what Brooke says relating to the Pork. I am very glad to Hear there is a prospect of getting the Inspection Law & I am abliged to you for being so particular about what the Assembly is doeing w^{h} I desier you will Continue. What is like to be done with the Bill to prevent the sale of Offices & the Clerks paying tenths? . . .

March 11th 1772 [180]

D^{r} Charley

We were 7 hours & a ¼ getting here, the latter part of the road being Chiefly Clayey made travelling Heavy. The day was as good as we Could Expect at this Season. On Monday in the Afternoon I rode about this Succys Plantation, yesterday I went by Reads to the Folly, Frosts, the Pool meadow & the Sawmill, I every where found more work done than I Expected. There is so much new ground Cleared Here & at Sucky's that

I shall plant the Greatest part of the Pasture old field in Corne (for Corne ground is most Wanted) the rest I shall lay downe in Oates & Clover. Valentines Meadow Mr Riggs proposes to lay downe with Flax Hemp & Timothy. We Have Reserved 60 Bushells of Oates to sow & shall put them in good ground. It began to snow this morning between 4 & 5 a Clock, I measured it at 9 a Clock in one of the Walks & it was 9 Inches deep so that for the time it must have fallen in more abundance than the great Snow in January, it is now 12 a Clock & it Continues to snow, but moderately with an appearance of its Ceasing. But the ground being Here full of Water & this addition will I am fearfull prevent Ploughing for at least 10 days to Come wh we want much to be about, it will also be difficult to get fier wood as the ground is Exceedingly Rotten & Spungy. The Quarry turns out Plentifully. I am in Hopes it will prove a good Wheat year as I perceive little or none of it to be spewed out of the ground, But it makes little or no shew at a distance, as the hard frosts after the thaw have parched the Blades. Yr Oates were Ready yesterday & were to be sent to morrow, but this snow I believe will make it impracticable, they shall goe with this as soon as Possible. If Coll Sharpe has sent the Alpine Strawberries & Vine Plants, send thm to me by the Carte. I suppose you sent my letter to Mr West. If the Cart does not get downe before Saturday, I expect the news Papers by Mr Cooke or Tilghman. I hope yr debauch at the Govrs has not Hurt you, I hear the Company was Highly Entertained & diverted by an Altercation between Dor Steuart & Major Jenifer on their Independance, as it is a Subject on wh the Dor had great scope to shine, I beg you will give me a particular Acct of what past between them, What little I have Heard of it, is from Mr Ashton, who you know is not the most exact intelligencer. . . .

March 17th 1772 [180]

Dr Charley

I Received yrs of the 10th inst by Mr Macrae. If you remember, my letter to West mentioned as a Condition of future

dealings Hobsons pleasing us in the Purchase of our goods. I shall order the Carts & wheelbarrowes you want to be made as soon as Possible, Consistently with our wants here. Riggs I think will answer my Expectations. Mr Ireland is better, He sets up, but Can only make a shift to get from His bed to a Chair. I hope Hammond Has not bought the Land in Dispute between us & Howard, I think you neglected pressing Wallace as often as you ought, Scheming & thinking without action will never bring Business to a wished for Conclusion, you hate to stir from Home. I have not got my Wheat to the Landing nor sold it When I shall get it downe I know not, very little of the snow being gone & it now Blowing & freezing hard. It snowed Here the 12th or the 13th. I sent my man into the woods to measure the snow and found it to be 17 inches deep. I may say the Planters Here have lost two months work, & I apprehend the loss in stocks of all sorts will be great, I believe I shall not Suffer much as I had a great store of Hay. If the roades will permit it, I will send yr seed Oates & some flour next week, this I intend by a Boy next Saturday, by whome I will write again if any thing Materiall occurs. I have not been out of the House since the 10th My love & Blessing to you all. Tell Molly to Give my little Darling a 1000 kisses for me. I am yrs &c.

C: C:

March 20th 1772 [180]

Dr Charley

I propose to send this to morrow with the two precedent, if the Weather will permit. I went to Mr Irelands on Wensday morning & found Him Chearfull & free from pain & He desiers to be Remembered to you & Molly. it snowed all tht afternoon, it began to snow again Yesterday & has Continued to snow to this time (I write at 11 a Clock in the morning) & no appearance of its leaving of as the Wind is at N: E: Little of the snow which fell on the 11th being gone I think with this addition it is at least 20 Inches deep. It has been warme from the 10th wh makes me think, insted of snowing it Rains with you

We have lost Here 10 Lambs since the last snow. Ely Dorsey & Mrs Warfield as I Hear had between them 70 lambs & have only 7 alive. Severall if I may Credit Reports Have at this time fother of no sort for their Cattle. I shall only send you 6 Bushs of Oates, I wish I may make my Corne Hold out untill Rye Comes in. Yr Carts & Wheelbarrows will be done in time. God knowes when we shall be able to Plough, all Plantation Business will be so Backward as hardly to be brought up. I never knew so much Snow & wet weather in March, all but the Ploughed fields were Covered wth snow when I Came here. I want exercise & were it not for Mr D'Estouches Plays &c I should be quite moped by my Confinement, yet it is best for me to be Here as Riggs &c Have often Recourse to me on many Occasions, Mrs Darnall is of great service to the sick, they Complain Chiefly of Great Colds I shall Return Molly the wine Cask filled with good Cyder.

I desier Mr Deards may Pack 10 or 12 Dzn of the Cask Wine tht Came from France, Cote Rotie & Burgundy that is 3 or 4 Dzn of Each of those Sorts. Let Him take Care not to send Hermitage insted of Cote Rotie, you like the Hermitage, I am well Satisfyed with the Cote Rotie & I like the Burgundy very well, I have drank since I came up my share of two or 3 bottles & it is to me a Palatable & an agreeable wine. . . .

P. S. 4 a Clock P: M: it has Ceased snowing about two Hours, the wind at N. W. & I suppose it will Freeze to night, tho it thaws fast at present, it will not be mild & settled weather untill the wind goes Regularly Round from N to E, S & West. Some Ships may be arrived send me what news you Can, I Hear the late Lord Bs will is at length in the London Papers: Are any steps taken in London to Contest it? I long to Hear from you & Hope to see you early in Aprill.

March 26: 1772 [181]

Dr Charley

I have yrs of Severall dates from the 12th to the 22d inst. When Plummer Comes shall Conclude with Him if He will enter into Articles before He surveys the Land.

Brice Released to Sam: Howard Chance, whether Sam: Howard Remortgaged Chance to Brice. It would be proper to let Fish Hammond know you Claim th^{t} part of Chance not included in Howards Inheritance & that you will prosecute y^{r} Claim, by doeing so you will know what Hammond intends to Purchase of Howard. . . . I return you the list of deeds of Lots in Annapolis, I take it th^{t} by the Act of 1718 for laying out Annapolis the then possessors titles were Confirmed, By th^{t} new Survey the lots were not numbered as in the first Survey, so th^{t} you must if necessary have Recourse to the original plat of Annapolis (which is in the House) to find the N^{o} of the lot leased to Bryant & Maw. If you Cannot find th^{t} Plat you will find one in the Towne Clarks office; knowing the originall n^{o} you may know from whome my Father purchased it if necessary. . . . If Deards had Considered the Invoice Book He would Have seen Chain Traces almost Constantly wrote for, we Can no more doe without th^{m} Here than at the Island, we use no other Tell M^{r} Deards to make a N^{o} to send for Chain Traces & to begin to make out the next invoice, let Him notice what we Have & Have not in the Store if He reflects, He must after the Experience He has Had, know every Common Article th^{t} will be wanted you should all so know it, & be able to make out Proper Invoices. I return you Hunters letter. Clem Brooke who is Here tells me you Have only ten Ton of Pigg Iron, may be M^{r} Carroll's Clerk may sell to Hunter as you do, if so let Him give an order to Brooke & specify the Quantity th^{t} Hunters Vessell may have a back freight. You will do well if you Can sell y^{r} Bar to the scotch factors at the Price you mention to Hunter. March 27th the Wagon goes of to morrow if fair, among other things I send you 200 Cabbage Plants, I mention them for fear y^{r} Lazy Gardener should not plant them out. I hope to see you next week. If no more bad weather we shall employ the Ploughs on Monday. . . .

Aprill 10th 1772 [182]

Dr Charley

We make the best use we Can of this fine Weather, I shall begin this day to sow Oates in my Orchard & Hope to finish sowing all my Oates at this Plantation next week. I have order'd a steer to be sent to you next Monday or Tuesday it is the last you will Have from Hence. by the steer drivers send me 6 pair of Chain traces if the steer drivers Cannot bring all the traces send the rest by Ellick who will go downe the 18th instant with Mrs Darnall. The Chain traces must be bought, I Cannot do without thm. I sent to B: Towne but none were to be got there. Ned returned last night from Frederick Towne Cary says He Could not get me any Horses & to mend the matter the Grey Horse you saw at the Folly was last night stole out of the stable there. the Ploughs mentioned in Jo: Sears Mo shall be ready to be sent by the Carts you bespoke when they (the Carts) are ready, & when I Can spare Horses to Carry the Carts which will not be before the last of this month. . . .

Aprill 14: 1772 [183]

Dr Charley

You may Have two 5 year old unbroke Oxen whenever Sears will Come for them, the Plough He wants shall be finished as soon as Possible, if I can I will name the Day before I close this. You Have an Answer to Scots letter, seal it. My Wheat is not sold, when it is I think I Can spare you £80. We are this day sowing Oates in the Orchard, it was too windy yesterday & not much better to day. Business in generall goes on well, the Weather Has put us much Back, but Rigges says He Hopes to bring all into order in good time, He says Frost is much forward in His Business than Himself, no wonder for a Home Plantation, with a Master who has Many Jobs on Hand is a Great Hindrance.

Aprill 15 Mr Rigges told me this Day tht One of the little Carts & two or more of the Ploughs will be finished this week so tht if Sears Comes up with a Team next Tuesday or Wensday

He may Carry downe the Cart & His ploughs & the young Oxen for they have been kept yoaked some days past & I suppose will leade well after the Cart. Mrs Darnall will tell you what a trick Dor Shuttleworth or His Man has served me, it is now night & as the Horse is not yet Come Home, it's not improbable that the man is gone off with the Horse the Dors Portmanteau & what Cash was in it the Servant is a Convict as Will tells me & the Dor promised to send the Horse from Frederick towne this morning by Breake of Day. . . .

27th May 1772 [184]

Dr Papa

Capt. Frost arrived here last Saturday from London, which he left the 29th March: By him I have received a copy of acct of Sales of 41 Hd's shipped to Philpot, and copy of a letter, the originals whereof were sent by the Adderton Capt. Haw: the letter you have inclosed, it ought to be dated 12th June 1771 & not 1772.

You will observe that Philpot says he has accounted for the 10 lb pr Hhd Kings allowance, because the 410 lb to which that allowance amounts is not taken off the weight of my Tobo. This is true, but then he accounts only for those 410 lb at the same price, for which the rest of the Tobo was sold, and not at the rate, at which they were really sold.

The netted pounds of these 41 Hhds according to the King's beam come to 39256: the netted pounds on the credit side of the account of sales amounts to 39081: the difference between these two sums is 175 lb, as Philpot makes it: the following sums over and above the said 175 lb, vizt for damage 390 lb for draft & sample 164 lb, for Trett 1482 in all 2211 are to be deducted from 39256 netted pounds on the acct of sales, and leave a balance of 37045 lb, for which quantity only he has in fact accounted at the several following rates viz at 3d at 3⅛ at 2d7/8. These 41 Hhds weighed in Maryland 41186 lb the real loss therefore on the weight by shipping comes to 4141 lb. Be pleased to return me this letter; the observations in it will

be of use to me when I write to Philpot: Philpots letter must also be returned to me.

I have bought a gardiner from Capt. Frost: I gave £23 Cur^{y} for him; he is not above 21 years of age, appears to be healthy & stout and orderly; he says he understands a Kitchen garden pretty well; M^{r} Carroll's gardener examined him: he has 4 years to serve.

Capt. Frost brings no fresh intelligence: Henrick sailed a week before him, & may be hourly expected. the barrister I know has wrote to me by Henrick: by him also I expect my coach & Plate from Deard's brother.

Molly has not been well these several days past: the little ones are perfectly well, and Molly growes a fine girl full of life & prattle.

I hope your leg is well, or much better than when I left you. If it should not I think you ought to take a little more Physic, indeed this is Doctor Scott's opinion & I hope you will follow his advice.

Neither the Gov^{r} or M^{rs} Eden are yet returned to town. Smith told me he expected them to day. . . .

Pray be attentive to the Stallions. they were in wretched condition when I left them & utterly unfit to Go to Mares. I am really uneasy about them; I did not care to press the matter when with you as it seemed to fret you, but I was very desirous & am still, of having them here.

It is impossible to get them in good order without hard food, give them as much lucerne as you please; and allow that grass all the wonderful qualities ascribed to it by the writers on agriculture.

28th May

Capt. Herrick arrived here yesterday but as he sailed before Frost has brought no fresh intelligence. The plate we wrote for is come in—the Coach I expect will come with the barrister, who writes me he shall be in before the fall.

I send along with this by Paul the model of the truck. You have a memorandum relating to it which you took with you

when you was down the memorandum contains the scale by which the model was made, & some directions about the wheels, which are to be made like the fore wheels of a chariot. If William understands the scale, he can't be at a loss in taking off the proportions. . . .

Sunday morning.

The things you wrote for shall be sent up in the wagon. Inclosed you have—Jn° Deard's shop note for plate, which we have received by Henrick: also James Capstack's Bill and a letter from Doc^r Scott. I would advise you, unless your leg should heal soon to take a little more physic. I wish your leg was well, besides the irksomeness of the confinement which it occasions, I am afraid the want of exercise may be prejudicial to y^r health.

Molly is better: she will write by the wagon; she is now fast asleep.

I have sent inclosed more particular directions about the truck. If William understands taking off the proportions from the scale he cannot possibly go wrong. You have herewith the newspapers. Nothing new. My love to M^rs Darnall. I am

Y^r affectionate son,

Ch. Carroll of Carrollton.

P. S. You may send down the two Jobbers next Monday. My Pork is not yet arrived from the furance, but I expect it daily. I shall send Paul to Dooheragen when the wagon goes up.

June 1^st 1772

D^r Charly

I have y^rs from the 27^th to the 31^st past, w^h I return to you. The difference between the weight of the 41 hgds sent to Philpot, Here & at the Kings Beam viz, 1930 lb is great & must be noticed when you write to Him, Buchanans Acc^t of Sale may be quoted. I say nothing to y^r other Remarks as they are just. Philpot ought to acc^t for 39256 insted of 39081. You tell me

at what prices the 41 hgds sold but you do not mention the sum they Produced nor did you send me Philpot's letter. Examin Perkins Acc^{t} of Sales as you have done Philpots & let me know the Result. When you write to them Consider my letter to Buchanan on the same Subject. For my Health I refer you to my letter to Do^{r} Scot w^{h} you will seal & send. The model of y^{r} Truck with both y^{r} memorandums Relating to it I have deliver'd to Riggs & directed the Wheelwright to Consult me if He did not understand the Directions. We want Rain for nothing but a Planting Season, the Earth being in good Condition for what is growing, But if our Wishes Could be indulged we should desier a good Sober Soaking Rain once a week. I return you M^{r} Deards Shop note of Plate with some Remarks w^{h} will shew How Ridiculous & foolish it is to lay out Money th^{t} way for any thing but spoons, for they seem to me the only necessary Plate Article. A rich side board Elegant & Costly furniture May gratify our Pride & Vanity, they may Excite the Praise & admiration of Spectators, more Commonly their Envy But it certainly must give a Rationall Parent infinitely more Satisfaction to save the money so dissipated as a Provision for younger Children, & an Ample Provision it would prove to be, in a Saving of 30 or 40 years for Severall. Enjoy y^{r} Fortune, keep an Hospitable table, But lay out as little money as Possible in dress furniture & shew of any Sort, decency is the only Point to be aimed at. I send downe Longo Will & Stephen Jobbers, if you dislike Stephen (which you may do from His looks & Raggnedness, tho as fit for a meer Labourer as any one) you may Return Him & keep Paul. I shall send downe the Wagon next Saturday th^{t} the Horses May Rest with you on Sunday. To speak with Certainty I just now viewed the stallions & I say they are in as good order as I would desier them to be for Covering or any other use, they were not in so good order when you was here, nor was there any necessity for their being so tho had we Plenty of Corn, its probable it would have been flung away upon them to make th^{m} unnecessarily as fat & as slick as Moles. It is not my Care only to want Corn, the Price it in Generall

bears shews the want to be generall & in such a want it would not be Reasonable to Pamper my Horses & Pinch my slaves, under these Circumstances you need not Wonder I was fretted to Hear you Complain of the Condition of the Stallions, you sometimes speak without deliberation, y^{r} Expedient of taking the Horses & leaving the Mares uncovered was in my opinion not a prudent one. I wish for Plentifull Crops of Corn as much as you, I endeavour what I Can to obtain th^{m} if I do not succeed, if my Neighbours succeed no better, I have Patience & spin out what I have as far as possible, immitate me.

I was very glad to Hear by y^{r} last Date, th^{t} Molly was better & I hope to Hear by y^{r} next th^{t} she is perfectly well. By what you say of my little darling Molly you Cannot be too fond of Her, when I say this it is Confiding you will not spoil Her. My love & Blessing to you Molly & the little Ones. I am D^{r} Charley Y^{r} mo: Aff^{t} Father

P. S. I sent last Saturday the Sorrell Mare to Figure; Miss Doe & Slamakin to M^{r} Goughs Dray Horse

June 5th 1772 [186]

D^{r} Charley

The Wagon sets of to morrow she will Carry you 3 Barrills of Flower & 15m 10d nails as M^{r} Deards wrote to me they would be wanted by you, they will send as many Wheelbarrows as they Can stow in the Wagon. Beside the things wrote for in my last Pray order 35 fathom of Prize Rope & two Dozen of Broad Hoes. You forgot to send me an extract of that Part of M^{r} Browne's of Cork Letter Relating to the money advanced by Him on Acc^{t} of M^{rs} Clarke & Her sons passage. In a letter of y^{rs} of the 30th of Octo^{r} 1769 you say M^{r} Rumsey told you He knew a Gent^{n} who Could Establish the Bounds of Derrykeel 1900a; What step Have you taken in Consequence of th^{t} information? if none, do not forget it. We Had a Moderate rain last Thursday Evening, it did not make a good Season, However Yesterday they Planted Here at Sucky's & Jacobs about 140000

Plants, But Mr Rigges thinks yesterday's & this day's Cold blowing & drying wind will destroy half of what is Planted. Yesterday I had & this day I have a fier & find it necessary, strange Weather for June our Corn looks Green & well, Is very Clean but does not Grow. Even the Grass in the Meadow grows very slowly. I have observed more smutted Wheat than is Common in our Wheat fields, tht is Wheat with Black & Perished Heads, Our Rankest & best wheat Vzt. at the Folly in the field next to the Mill is the fullest of it, I have not seen the Wheat fields since last Wensday, the Wheat was then only beginning to Ear, I hope what was or is still to shoot may be freer from the smut.

My Leg & Toe are allmost quite well or want but very little of Being quite so, & the Humor in my Ears seems to be goeing of, they Have dryed much for the three days Past. My love & Blessing to you Molly & the little ones, Kiss my Darling & tell Her her Grandpapa sent Her tht Kiss. I have put the things sent you & those which you are to send me on an inclosed Piece of Paper. I Hope by the Wagon to Hear you are all perfectly well, God grant you May all long very long Continue so. I am

Dr Charley Yr mo: Afft Father

Cha: Carroll

June 9th 1772 [187]

Dr Charley

I have yrs of the 7th by the Wagon. Philpot's Sales if I remember are the Lowest, turning out not quite £8 pr hgd When plate Costs nigh as much for Fashion as for the Silver it is a folly to Purchase it, especially when the Plate is not substantiall, as the Change of it is thereby necessarily more frequent. As I am not a Competent Judge of Workmanship I wont say the Charge for the Fashion is Extravagant, but I will say tht Charge is greatly beyond what I used to be Charged, wh you may see by Comparing yr last Invoice with former Invoices of Plate. Substantiall Plain & neat Plate (if Plate is necessary) is the only Plate wh ought to be bought as an imposition in the Article of

Fashion as sooner noticed. I have enquired & Have not Heared th^{t} Corn has been sold Lower than 3/9d, at B: T: it has Retailed there at 4/, & at 4/6 at E: R Landing. It froze Here last Thursday night or Friday morning, it bit the Leaves of the English Walnut tree in the Pasture & my Lucern. We have Plenty of Plants, if the Fly does not again Attack them, the Cooleness of the day makes me apprehend it, We want a Season, th^{t} is a soakeing warme Rain. I took a tour this morning by Jacobs, Suckys, Moses's, the Folly & the Pool meadow Our Fields every where in good order, most of the Corn thrice Ploughed Over, But it is very Low for the Season, I Can Hardly perceive the Grass to have stir'd for ten days past in the Pool meadows the smut has Ceased in the Wheat fields, the forwardest Wheat & th^{t} on weak Lands was most afected, I attribute it to the Cold & Frosty Weather, I think in some fields the damage may Amount to a 15th

I think for the Reasons you mention, we shall be able to sell our tob^{o} at a Guinia p^{r} C^{t} M^{r} Ploughman I am informed has given th^{t} Price for some Linganoa tob^{o} M^{r} Rumsey will informe you what Steps you are to take to Establish the Bounds of Derry Keel, as I think He must be Acquainted with their mode of Proceeding in such Cases in Pensilvania, I take Merryweather to be a narrow gripeing fellow & think His office may be bestowed on one much more deserving. I have left the Sale of my Wheat to C: Brooke, I do not Hear that He has sold it. By the Pensilvania Journall of the 21st Past Wheat was there at 8/ p^{r} Bush^{l} I Have kept Rob^{t} to new lay my Back Porch, I hope He will finish it by 10 a Clock to morrow Morning. I think M^{r} Pots has used us ill, I have this day sent to B: Towne for 150 lb of the best Clayed Sugar & if you Can borrow or Purchase any good spirit I desier you will send me 12 Bottles by the 1st Dutch Wagon. My Leg & Toe are quite well & I Can walk, as usuall without the least Inconvenience. My Ears Continue to Run but not as much as formerly. I conceived on their Ceasing to Run th^{t} I felt a Heaviness in my Head, But if so, perhaps it might be owing to a Cold or some other Cause th^{t} I Cannot Acc^{t}

for: Mrs Darnall prescribes 10 or 12 Dozes of the Flour of Brimstone, a tea spoon full to be taken each day in milk, she says it Corrects Acrid Humours & is a great sweetner of the Blood, I shall follow Her Prescription as I believe she is as knowing as some of the Pretended sons of Esculapius. I am much Pleased with Mr Riggs He is a thinking active man He proposes the saw Mil shall work by Day & the Grist Mil by night, by wh method they may both work Constantly & Have a sufficient supply of water, to this end I sent for a lamp wh I suppose Mr Deards forgot. Molly gives us Hopes we shall see you all by the Middle of next month the sooner the Better, for I long to Embrace you Molly & my Dear little Grand Children. My love & Blessing to you all. God grant you all perfect Health & a long Continuance of it. I am Dr Charley

Yr mo: Afft Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. I shall write to you next Friday by Mr Ashton. Make my Compliments to Dor Scot & His Lady. I shall then also write to Mr Deards to whome I desier my Compliments.

June 12th 1772 [188]

Dr Charley

Nothing Materiall has occurred since I wrote you by Robt Gethings. We had a skirting Rain yesterday in the Afternoon they Planted a little wh I think will not stand as we now have a Cold drying Wind. Mr Rigges thinks a 3d of our first planting stands. Our Corn makes little or no progress, Our Corn fields are in very good order, for as nothing growes they are Clean & thrice Ploughed, we shall goe over them again before Harvest. We want a good Season much, most of our tobo ground being Scraped. They are mowing the Clover at the Folly wh is next to the main Roade. Our Oates in the Orchard & low grounds look well, the others but indifferent I sent to Mr Croxall's the 2d Instant to know how He did they write He is something better than usuall, they Desier their Compliments to you &

Molly. Mr Ashton Came thence last Wendsday. The gout has left Capn Ireland He is weak & much fallen away. I apprehend from His meagre Regimen, But in good spirits: His wheat is very good & free from the smut, I walked thither last Wensday. Our Bridge over Patuxent is at last finished. Pray desier Molly to send my Ring by Mr Ashton. I miss a Browne Holland Wastecoate, it may be in the Chest in the Chapple among my other Cloaths, as I wrote to Mr Deards, or it may be stolen as there are some light fingered People in yr Family, for Will last October had two new white shirts & Mrs Darnalls had an Osnabrigs Peticoate stolen from them, wh I knew not untill lately. My Cloaths are not secure in the Chapple unless a Lock be put on the Chest. Pray tell Molly to take Care to Have my Cloaths frequently aired & the Chest well Cleaned every time before they are Replaced in it. Pray send me the net weight of the Hgd payed last year by Richd Simpson, it was sold to West, the mark R S

I am very well, But I think One of my Ears run more yesterday than Ever, I again apply Dor Scots white ointment & Began last night to take the Flour of Brimstone. My love & Blessing to you Molly & the little Ones I hope to Hear you are all perfectly well. If you wont, tell Molly to kiss the little Ones for me. Does Molly ever talk of Her Grand Papa? I am Dr Charley

Yr mo: Afft Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. Mr Ashton saw Clemt Brooke last Wendsday at B: Towne, who told Him He had sold my wheat at 7/4d to Wm More son of More who owes us money. Brooke told me He is good Pay, if you ask Mr Ashton He will be more Particular.

June 17 1772 [189]

Dr Charley

I have yrs by Mr Cooke & Mr Ashton. If I mistake not Wm Browne's Beards &c's Bond is out of Date, if not, put it in suit. I have Wrote to Dilling, & shall write to the Stoners when I

Can learn where they live. Rob^{t} Davis has not yet Run out Shipley's Land & nothing Can be done with Him untill th^{t} is done. I know not How to Proceed ag^{t} Conrade Bott, you know it is a Mortgage, the Land was taken up in Maryland by Jo: Digges it is now in Pensilvania, Bot is Runaway & did Convey after His Mortgage to a Person I know not, who is in Possession, M^{r} W^{m} Digges Can give you information, when you have His information, Proceed as you shall be advised. M^{rs} Darnall Intends this summer to Pay a Visit to Her Mother, I shall then write to Cha^{s} Neale & inclose a Bill of sale. If D: D^{y} advises a Bill to be filed ag^{t} me, it must be with a View to Create fees in His Office for I think it will appear by my Books th^{t} all the Compound interest was discounted when Ja^{s} Heath past His Bond for His Fathers Debt. I think 20 Guineas a very Generous offer to Goldsborough the Cause is far from being an Intricate one & He has not had any trouble in drawing or Writing I shall send you some Bran by the little Cart next Saturday. Yesterday & this day are very Cold, I Could well bear a fier, Corn makes no Progress, But if we have Rain in 8 or 10 days as the fields are Clean & in good order, I shall Hope to make a good Crop of Corn Our Potatoes make as poor an Appearance as the Corn, but the Meadows make the Worst, should we Hence forward Have seasonable Weather, I think our Crop of Hay will be a very short one: I apprehend the Cold weather does more Damage than the Drought. Our Wheat in Generall looks well but is too thin, the Damage from the smut will not be a 15th as I wrote you, most of the smutted Wheat, shot the earliest, w^{h} had a very bad Appearance, what has speared since is free from smut, the Cold & frosts I apprehend afected the Earliest Wheat. In the list of things ordered to Come by my Wagon a Lamp was mentioned, it is so at least in the Duplicate I kept of th^{t} List I shall send for one to B: Towne I need not tell you I shall be glad to see you & Molly as soon as you Can Conveniently Come, you in Particular I should be glad to see oftner, as the Exercise & Change of air must be very Beneficiall to you. As Cooke and Tilghman Came here last

Sunday Evening & went away early on Monday I Could not write by them to any of the Persons mentioned in the fore part of this letter. C^{t} Brooke in a letter to me dated the 30th past says I shall send the 10 Barills of Pork, to y^{r} son in a few days by M^{r} Carroll's schooner. I wrote yesterday as you desier'd to forward th^{m} M^{r} Ashton tells me you have got them. Pork as Cap^{n} Hanrick tells me sels at B: Towne at £6 p^{r} Barrill, so th^{t} if you have more than you want, you may sell it to advantage, Warrent Acct in Li: T goes no Lower than Dec^{r} 25th 1767, He was Charged with a Double Rent Dec^{r} 25th 1765, so th^{t} He must be Charged with another Double Rent Dec^{r} 25th 1770. This Article is the only one in y^{r} last w^{h} Requir'd an Answer. I hope the Running of my Ears is gone of as I have not in the least been troubled with it for 3 days past, nor doe I find any disorder from a stopage of the Humor. I shall inclose a list of what I send & what I want by the Cart. I Could not get any Clayed Sugar at B: Towne, therefore send me at least 150 lb by the Cart the Bottles of spirit you got of M^{rs} Pots will do for the Present. I suppose you have got y^{r} Sugar &c from Pots.

June 18th 8 a Clock in the Evening. No acc^{t} of M^{r} Deards yet, I suppose He Cannot leave His Friend Douglass. I immagin you know th^{t} H: Browne is Come in, He arrived from Cork at B: Towne last Sunday, Hendrick told me this Day, th^{t} the Irish goods Browne was directed to Purchase Have been in B: Towne 3 weeks past strange no letters Came to our hands. Rachell presents Her love to you all, so do I with my Blessing I am well & shall Write to you to Morrow to goe by the Cart on Saturday. I am D^{r} Charley

Y^{r} Aff^{t} Father
Cha: Carroll

June 19th 1772 [190]

D^{r} Charley

I wrote to you the 17th & 18th instant, M^{r} Tilghman will deliver it this morning. As we want Osnabrigs Cotton &c I send the Wagon insted of the little Cart. Inclosed is a list of

what I send & what I want. Law: Robinson says He left a Saddle with some of your People, I desier'd it might be sent by the Wagon when it went last, it did not Come, did you enquier for it? Carbin Lee I hear is Removed by order of the Owners, from the works under His Management: Has He answerd y^{r} letter about His Protest? if not put the Bill in suit unless He offers undoubted Security & gives it in a very short time. It is odd Hen: Browne should send our goods & th^{t} we had no notice of it, Hanrick as I wrote you, told me they have been in B: Towne 3 weeks past: I expect Him here in a day or two; As He Came from Cork I suppose y^{r} Claret is Come with Him & th^{t} y^{r} Sugar &c from Pots is or will be in y^{r} Store Before this will be with you desier Deards to note in His Blotter to write for the best files & Tools of all sorts, the files sent are very bad: I suppose He is gone back to Annapolis. My love & Blessing to you Molly & my little Girls. Molly I imagine begins to be very Chatty & good Company. I wish you all perfect Health & as much Happyness as this World Can aford & I am D^{r} Charley

Y^{r} mo: Aff^{t} Father

Cha: Carroll

THE BATTLE OF THE SEVERN

ITS ANTECEDENTS AND CONSEQUENCES

1651–1655.

B. Bernard Browne, M. D.

In ancient times all roads led to Rome, so during the Colonial period all Maryland history leads to England.

During the Civil War in England, a large number of those who sympathized with the King and who were threatened as enemies by parliament emigrated to Maryland and Virginia, both of which Colonies maintained the royal standard and were under the rule of governors who affiliated with the royal cause.

In Maryland, Charles II was proclaimed King by Governor

Green on 15th of September, 1649, and the Virginia House of Burgesses refused to acknowledge the rule of parliament.

On the 26th of September, 1651, the Council of State of England, in carrying out the provisions of the Ordinance of parliament passed on October 3rd of the preceding year (1650), prohibiting trade with Barbadoes, Virginia and Bermuda which was intended as a punishment for the rebellion of those Colonies against the English parliament, and which stated "that the islands and other places in America, where any English are planted, are and ought to be subject to and dependent upon England and must be subject to such laws, orders, and regulations as are and shall be made by the parliament of England."

This parliament was not in the habit of uttering empty words; but followed the declaration up with this ordinance of September 26, 1651, appointing Captain Robert Dennis, Mr. Thomas Stagge, Captain Edmund Curtis, who were then officers in the navy, and Richard Bennet, and Captain William Clayborne, then residents of Virginia, to be Commissioners for reducing all the plantations within the Bay of the Chesapeake to their due obedience to the parliament of the Commonwealth of England.

They were empowered to use, in the first place, persuasive and lenient measures, but if necessary all the arts of hostility that lie in their power.

The three Commissioners who were in England, Dennis, Stagge and Curtis, with a small fleet and a regiment of 700 men sailed for Virginia where Captain Curtis arrived on the ship "John" in March, 1652, Captain Dennis and Mr. Stagge having been lost on the voyage on the ship "Admiral."

After an ineffectual resistance on the part of Governor Berkeley, he agreed to capitulate and surrender the Colony to the three Commissioners, which he did on the twelfth of March, 1652.

After the surrender of Virginia the Commissioners proceeded to Maryland and arriving at the seat of Government (St. Mary's), on the 29th of March, issued a proclamation which

stated, that having offered to Governor Stone and the Council that they should remain in their places, conforming themselves to the laws of the Commonwealth of England. This they refused to do and the Commissioners thereupon demanded Governor Stone's commission, and published orders for the future government of the province, which stated that all writs, warrants, and process whatsoever be issued forth in the name of the keepers of the liberty of England by authority of parliament; and that they be signed under the hand of one or more of the Council hereafter named, viz., Robert Brooke, Esq., *President and Acting Governor,* Col. Francis Yardley, Mr. Job Chandler, Captain Edward Windham, Mr. Richard Preston, Lieutenant Richard Banks.

Soon after the Commissioners completed the reducement of Maryland, they returned to Virginia, where, on the 30th of April, the burgesses organized a new government for that province and unanimously elected Richard Bennet their Governor, and Captain William Clayborne, Secretary of State; thus Bennet became practically Governor of Maryland and Virginia at the same time, being a Commissioner under parliament he was in a position to exercise great authority and extraordinary power in both provinces.

After a short time Captain Stone changed his mind in regard to his refusal to issue the writs, etc., as required by the Commissioners, and requested to be reinstated as Governor.

Accordingly two of the Commissioners, Governor Richard Bennet and Captain William Clayborne, with the advice and consent of the Council and other inhabitants, issued their order or proclamation bearing date 28th June, 1652, appointing Captain Stone Governor, and Mr. Thomas Hatton, Mr. Robert Brooke, Captain John Price, Mr. Job Chandler, Col. Francis Yardley, and Mr. Richard Preston, Council for the province, who were to govern, order and direct the affairs thereof in all matters according to the former order and proclamation of March 29th, 1652.

Governor Stone being now reinstated, he continued to play an

important part in the affairs of Maryland up to the time of the battle of the Severn in which, as we will see, he was engaged on the losing side.

He was born in Northamptonshire, England, and settled on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, about 1632, he was a prominent Protestant, was Justice of Accomac in 1633, and Sheriff of Northampton in 1640; he owned large tracts of land on Hungars and Mattawoman creeks, which he inherited from his father, Captain John Stone, who was killed by the Pequod Indians in a battle on Connecticut River.

He married Virginia Cotton, daughter of the Rev. William Cotton, an non-conformist minister, of Hungars, in Northampton. Rev. William Cotton, Hooker and Roger Williams, all zealous clergymen, came to Salem and Boston in 1630, with John Winthrop.

On August 6, 1648, on the promise of bringing 500 people of English or Irish descent into the province, he was commissioned by Lord Baltimore, *"our Lieutenant, Chief Governor, General, Admiral, Marshall, Chief Captain and Commander by sea and land."* He was the ancestor of Thomas Stone, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and who was present when General Washington resigned his military commission into the hands of Congress, 23rd December, 1783, at Annapolis. Governor William Stone died at his plantation, "Avon," in Charles County, in 1695.

After the reinstatement of Governor Stone, Governor Bennet and Mr. Clayborne left the government of the province, thus organized, entirely in the management of Governor Stone, and the Council, and Captain Clayborne returned to Virginia. Governor Bennet was immediately engaged in a very important public transaction of the province, the treaty with the Susquehanna Indians, a fierce and warlike tribe (Iroquois Nation).

This tribe had for a long time (even previous to the settlement of Leonard Calvert), been at war with the Indians of the Patuxent, and the Piscataways (Algonquins), and indeed considered themselves conquerors of all the territory from the Sus-

quehanna to the Potomac, or at least to the Patuxent. It is most probable, therefore, that they resented the settlement of the English at St. Mary's, and more especially the settlement of the Puritans at the Severn. If we remember that up to 1649, Lord Baltimore's settlements were confined almost entirely to the lower part of St. Mary's, and had barely extended to the Patuxent and not north of that river. Therefore, we must recognize the fact that the 500 settlers brought in by Governor Stone were a great addition to Lord Baltimore's Province, and also to his revenue. Even a greater benefit to him was the settlement of the Puritans at the Severn, who acted as a barrier and protection to all of his territory north of the Patuxent, and made it possible for him to colonize that section.

As a recent writer has said, "Lord Baltimore was an energetic and active Colonizer," and, no doubt, stipulated with the Puritans that if they would become settlers he would guarantee religious toleration by an act of Assembly, which he did in 1649.

On the same day that Governor Stone was reinstated, the Court held at Saint Mary's—present Governor Stone, Mr. Thomas Hatton, Secretary, Mr. Robert Brooke, Col. Francis Yardley, Mr. Job Chandler, Mr. Richard Preston, took the following action:

"Whereas, this Court is informed that the Susquehanna Indians have a long time desired and much pressed for the conclusion of a peace with the government and inhabitants of this province, which, as is now conceived, may tend much to the safety and advantage of the inhabitants here, if advisedly effected: it is, therefore, ordered, and the Court hereby gives full power and authority unto Richard Bennet, Edward Lloyd, Captain William Fuller, Thomas Marsh and Leonard Strong, or any three of them of which Richard Bennet to be one, to consult and treat with the Susquehanna Indians and to conclude a league and peace with them."

All the above named except Mr. Richard Bennet, were inhabitants of the new Puritan settlement on the Severn, recently called Ann Arundel, formerly and soon again to be called Providence.

They immediately went from St. Mary's to the Severn, where they entered upon their diplomatic duties and on July 5th, 7 days afterwards, a treaty was made and articles of agreement signed at the river Severn, and as traditions say under the old poplar or Liberty Tree, still standing.

The articles gave the English all the land from the Patuxent River to Palmer's Island, on the western side of the Chesapeake, and from the Choptank River to the northeast branch which lies northward of Elk River on the eastern side of the bay, excepting, however, the Isle of Kent and Palmer's Island which belong to Captain Clayborne.

Although this treaty secured peace with all the Indians of the western shore and down to the Choptank River on the eastern shore, we soon find that the Nanticokes and Wicomicoes, who were not included in the treaty, commenced making attacks upon the inhabitants of the Isle of Kent, and even cross the bay to make depredations upon the citizens of St. Mary's. To meet this invasion Governor Stone and the Council appointed Captain William Fuller, Commander-in-chief, and Captain General of the militia, to proceed in an expedition against these Indians, to make war upon and through God's assistance, by all possible means, to vanquish, destroy, plunder, kill or take prisoners all or any of the said Indians, either by sea or land, and *being so taken to put them to death by the law of war,* or to sell them as slaves, and if necessary, pursue them beyond the limits of this province [1] (Invading a neutral State). He had only recently come to the province, having previously been an officer in Cromwell's army, and was said to have been engaged in the battle of Dunbar, in which Cromwell defeated and captured a vastly superior army by attacking it in the rear, which we will see was the tactics pursued by Fuller in the battle of the Severn. Both Cromwell and Fuller claimed that the Lord

[1] This order must have proceeded upon this ancient principle, it being at that time strictly conformable to the laws of nations; as appears from Grotius (De Jure Belli et Pacis, lib. III, chap. 7), who wrote this celebrated work some short time prior tothe year 1625, when it was first published at Paris, under the auspices of Louis XIII. Bozman, vol. II, p. 457.

was on their side. The battle cry of the former being "The Lord, the Lord of Hosts he has delivered them into mine hands, let God arise and let his enemies be scattered," and his whole army joining in a chorus singing 117th Psalm.

Fuller's battle cry was "In the name of God fall on, God is our strength."

In consequence of certain instructions received by Governor Stone from Lord Baltimore, he proceeded on the seventh of February, 1654, to a very important measure, which became the ostensible and alleged cause of the Civil War in the province, which shortly afterwards ensued.

To carry these instructions into effect, he issued a proclamation, of the date last mentioned (7th February, 1654); in the commencement of which he takes care specially and expressly to state his authority for so doing.

"According to the special direction and appointment of the right honorable Cecilius Lord Baltimore, etc., these are in his, the said Lord proprietary's name, to give notice and declare to all and every one of the inhabitants of this province, and others, whom it does or may concern, that whereas his said Lordship understands that divers persons inhabiting in this province, have not sued out their patents in due time for the lands which they claim to be due unto them here, *nor have taken the oath of fidelity* (as they ought to have done), according to his Lordship's condition of plantation, whereby they claim such land." (A distinguished historian has said that the imposition of this oath was an illegal stretch of the prerogative—an oath of his own coining and was the cause of all the bloodshed which subsequently ensued in the Province.) "Yet his Lordship, out of good affection to them, is not willing to take such advantage, as he justly might, there up against them, without giving them first fair warning, by this proclamation, of their error therein, but is contented that all such persons, who claim any land due unto them respectively by virtue of his Lordship's conditions of plantation dated 2nd July, 1649, shall, notwithstanding their said default, have the said lands granted unto them as if no

such default had been made. Provided always, that they do respectively, within three months now next ensuing, *take the said oath of fidelity,* according to his Lordship's *declaration* bearing date the sixth of August, 1650, and his instructions, *bearing date the 17th of February, 1653,* and also, within the said time make their rights to said land appear to his Lordship's Secretary here, and sue out their patents, and pay to his Lordship's receiver general here, or his sufficient deputy, all such arrears of rent as are due to his Lordship for the said lands respectively from the time such patents ought, by the said conditions to have been sued out by them respectively, and also to pay unto his Lordship's officers here such fees as of right belong unto them respectively for the same.

"And these are further also, in the said Lord proprietor's name, and by his special direction and appointment as aforesaid, to declare and give notice, that in case such person or persons, so claiming any land due as aforesaid, *shall not take the oath of fidelity,* or not sue out their respective patents, or not pay the said arrears and fees within the time aforesaid, they shall be forever after debarred from any right or claim to the said lands, and in that case his Lordship's Lieutenant here is by the said Lordship's special direction, required to cause *to be entered and seized upon* to his Lordship's use. Given at St. Mary's in the said province of Maryland, the seventh day of February, Anno Dom. 1654. William Stone."

It will be noticed that these instructions of Lord Baltimore, dated 17th February, 1653, were not received by Governor Stone until the early part of 1654, as evidently they had not been received on November the 7th, 1653, for on that date he adjourned the provincial Court to January 10th, 1654, because, as he stated, "no English shipping had yet arrived here," this delay most probably was caused by the war with Holland, as about this time the Dutch fleet under Von Tromp had defeated Admiral Blake, and had complete control of the English Channel, sailing up and down with brooms tied to their masts to indicate that they were making "*a clean sweep.*"

The Long Parliament did not adjourn until 20th April, 1653, nearly two months after the instructions were written and Cromwell was made Lord Protector 16 December, 1653, ten months after they were written and two months before they were received by Governor Stone.

We must also remember the several orders drawn up and published at Saint Mary's the 29th of March and the 28th of June, 1652, by which the province of Maryland was reduced and settled under the authority of the Commonwealth of England by the commission from parliament, and was left in the hands of Governor William Stone and others who were required and promised to issue all writs in the name of the Keepers of the liberty of England, according to the instructions from parliament.

And now we find Governor Stone by a special order from Lord Baltimore, is persuaded and induced to go away from his obligation and the trust reposed in him, and issues writs and all other processes in the name of Lord Baltimore, displaces members of the Council and imposes an oath upon the inhabitants contrary to and inconsistent with their engagement and oath to the Commonwealth of England, upon penalty of forfeiture of their lands.

This caused great discontent and disturbance among the inhabitants besides being in opposition and rebellion to the Commonwealth of England and to his highness the Lord Protector.

Early in March, Governor Bennet received petitions from Edward Lloyd and 77 persons from the Severn and from Richard Preston and 60 persons from the Patuxent complaining of Governor Stone's action and asking protection. They stated that they were encouraged and invited to remove their estates into this province by Captain Stone, who promised them liberty of conscience, and nothing was ever said about taking an oath to Lord Baltimore. On the 12th of March (1654) Bennet replies to them that he has received confirmation and approval from parliament of the action of the commission in reducing

Maryland and Virginia, and bids them to stand fast in their obedience to parliament and not to depart from it on their peril.

Governor Richard Bennet was a statesman, a diplomat and a military man; he came to Virginia about 1620, and soon took a prominent part in the political life of the Colony. He was a leading member of the Puritan settlement in Virginia, and in 1649, at the solicitation of Governor Stone, he established the Puritan settlement at Providence. He was on April 30, 1652, unanimously elected Governor, returning to Virginia as we have seen. He was Major General of the Virginia forces 1662-1672, and also member of the Council. He largely shaped the history of Virginia and influenced that of Maryland for many years. He died in 1676. Among his descendants in Virginia are: John Randolph of Roanoke, Richard Bland, member of the First Congress at Philadelphia; Theodoric Bland, Colonel in the Revolutionary Army; Henry St. George Tucker, President of the Virginia Court of Appeals; John Randolph Tucker, Attorney General of Virginia; Lighthorse Harry Lee, of the Revolutionary Army; Major General Fitzhugh Lee and General Robert E. Lee, of the Confederate States Army.

Speaking of General Lee and of Governor Bennet, a recent historical writer has said: "When from his chosen place with kindling eye, he saw his ragged boys in gray in a hundred battles sweep the Federal lines from the field, it was the blood of Richard Bennet that thrilled in the veins of Robert E. Lee. His was the hand that first sowed the seeds of both civil and religious liberty in the soil of Virginia. He quickened into life the spirit of independence, which a century afterward fired the soul of a Patrick Henry and drew forth the sword of Washington.

Richard Bennet was the first, and one of the greatest of all the friends of liberty Virginia ever nurtured on her bosom, and who, preceding them all by a century, made possible their heroic achievements." [2]

About the last of April, 1654, Governor Stone received

[2] See Hennings Statutes.

letters of instruction from Lord Baltimore, among other things ordering the displacement of Robert Brooke from the Council, etc., which Governor Stone effected on July 3rd. He also issued, July 4, a proclamation repudiating the reducement of the Province by Bennet and Clayborne in 1652, and charging these commissioners and indeed the whole Puritanic party, mostly of Ann Arundel, with drawing away the people and leading them into faction, sedition, and rebellion against Lord Baltimore. Induced by this proclamation of Governor Stone and urgent solicitation from the inhabitants of the Severn and Patuxent, the Commissioners, Bennet and Clayborne, about the middle of July, returned to Maryland, coming to Providence with the intention of effecting another reducement of the proprietary government of the Province.

They applied themselves in a peaceable and loving way to Captain William Stone, the Governor and Council of Maryland, to persuade them into their due and promised obedience to the Commonwealth of England.

Governor Stone, returning only opprobrious language, calling them "Wolves in sheep's clothing," etc., at once mustered his whole power of men and soldiers in arms intending to surprise the commissioners and to destroy those who had refused to take the unlawful oath and who had kept themselves in their due obedience to the Commonwealth of England, under which they were reduced and settled by the parliament's authority and commission. Upon this display of resistance the commissioners, with some of the people of the Patuxent and Severn, crossed over the river, where they received a message from Captain Stone that the next day he would meet and treat in the woods; but being fearful of a party coming from Virginia he concluded to surrender at once and to lay down his power lately assumed from Lord Baltimore. It will be recollected, that Mr. Bennet, one of the commissioners now regulating the affairs of Maryland and now advancing in hostile array against Governor Stone, was at this very time also Governor of Virginia.

It seems, therefore, that this party to come from Virginia,

had been preconcerted and directed by Governor Bennet's orders, so as to afford timely support and aid to the Puritans from the Severn and the Patuxent, then under his own special command. With the Puritans from the Severn in his front and the Virginia soldiers from the northern neck in his rear, Governor Stone thought it most prudent to submit.

The commissioners then issued their order or declaration, dated at Patuxent river in the Province of Maryland, 22 July, 1654, appointing the following commissioners "for the conservation of peace and public administration of justice within the province of Maryland: Captain William Fuller, Mr. Richard Preston, Mr. William Durand, Mr. Edward Lloyd, Captain John Smith, Mr. Leonard Strong, Mr. John Lawson, Mr. John Hatch, Mr. Richard Wells, Mr. Richard Ewen. All Puritans or any four of them, whereof Captain William Fuller, Mr. Richard Preston, or Mr. William Durand, to be always one, to be commissioners for the well ordering, directing and governing the affairs of Maryland under his highness the Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions thereof, and in his name only and no other."

The Commission also authorized them to appoint and hold courts of justice and to proceed therein as near as might be, to the laws of England, and also that they summon an assembly to begin on the 20th of October. William Durand was appointed Secretary of the Province and upon the Commission was written an order signed by Bennet and Clayborne, and addressed to Mr. Thomas Hatton, the Secretary of the Province, appointed by Lord Baltimore, requiring him to deliver the records of the Province and all the papers concerning the same unto Mr. William Durand.

Captain Fuller and his fellow commissioners complied with their orders in summoning an assembly to meet on the 20th of October. This assembly was held "at Patuxent," the residence of Mr. Richard Preston, which was now fixed upon as the seat of government and all the records of the province were deposited there and "The Patuxent" continued to be the Capitol of the province until 24th March, 1658, a period of four years.

This Assembly enacted and declared in the name of his highness, the Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, and by the authority of this present general assembly, " that the reducing of this province of Maryland by power of the Supreme Authority of the Commonwealth of England, committed to Richard Bennet, Esq., and Colonel William Clayborne, and the Government as it is now settled by commission granted to Captain William Fuller, Mr. Richard Preston, Mr. William Durand, Mr. Edward Lloyd, Mr. Leonard Strong, Mr. John Hatch, Mr. John Lawson, Mr. Richard Wells, Mr. William Parker, Mr. Richard Ewen is acknowledged by this assembly, and freely and fully submitted unto, and that no power, either from the Lord Baltimore or any other ought or shall make any alteration in the government aforesaid as it is now settled, unless it be from the supreme authority of the Commonwealth of England, exercised by his highness the Lord Protector immediately and directly granted for that purpose "; that all persons denying the present government or who either in word or deed, vilify or scandalize the same or by actions secret or open, disquiet, oppose or disturb the same government, shall be accounted offenders against the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, the peace and welfare of this province, and dealt with according to their offense.

That no commission or power shall be owned or received in this province other than that which is already settled therein, but that which is the supreme authority of the Commonwealth of England shall immediately and directly grant and confirm; and whosoever shall publish any commission, proclamation, order or declaration, writ or summons which is not from the Supreme Authority, so granted as aforesaid, shall be counted an offender against the public peace and welfare of this province and dealt with accordingly.

This is evidently an act of recognition of Cromwell's just title and authority; because from him it had derived its present power.

At this session of the Assembly the act of 1650, whereby the settlement of Providence on the Severn had been erected into a County under the name of Ann Arundel it was now directed that it be called and recorded by the name of the County of Providence, this being the first name by which it was known.

On July 30, 1650, Governor Stone visited Providence and organized the County of Anne Arundel, appointing Edward Lloyd Commander, and the following Commissioners, all of whom were Puritans: James Homewood, Thomas Marsh, George Puddington, Edward Hawkins, James Merryman, Henry Catlyn.

Another act passed at this session is a declaration against the proclamation of Governor Stone, of the 7th of February, 1654, which has been before noticed.

"Whereas by a proclamation, published and recorded in this province, by special order and command from the Lord Baltimore, all the inhabitants, that will not within three months, take that oath, which is imposed by his lordship, requiring them to acknowledge him to be *an absolute* Lord of this province, and to have *royal* jurisdiction here, shall have their lands seized to his said Lordship's use; and whereas likewise the said Lord Baltimore hath declared such as have not or shall not comply with his government to be rebels, which is also upon record; this assembly doth declare, that the said proclamation and declaration aforesaid made by the said Lord Baltimore and recorded, is null and void, and of none effect to such intents and actions as are mentioned therein; and that act of recognition confirmed by the assembly and expressed in the act is firm against all or any such declaration."

Captain William Fuller, who is now placed at the head of the Commission for governing the province, as before stated, was a military man and kept his little band of militia well drilled and always ready for service, he held his position for about four years (until March 24, 1658), during which time he was acting governor of the province.

Richard Peston, who was chosen as speaker of this General

Assembly (Oct. 20, 1654), was known as the *fighting Puritan* and *Peaceful Quaker,* his house on the Patuxent, which is still standing, and is probably the oldest brick house in Maryland, was the " State House " for a period of 4 years.

William Durand the Secretary, was a Puritan elder in Virginia and may be considered a *fighting parson.*

The province was now quiet until the latter end of January (1655), at which time the ship " Golden Fortune," Captain Tilman being Commander, arrived in Maryland; on this boat Mr. William Eltonhead brought letters of instruction to Captain Stone blaming him for having resigned his government to the Lord Protector in July last, and accusing him of cowardice in surrendering without striking one stroke, appointing Captain Luke Barber to take command in case Captain Stone refuses. Instigated by this he reassumes his office of Governor and issues military commissions, and organizes an armed force in St. Mary's for the purpose of taking possession of the government.

He dispatched a party of armed men headed by Mr. Eltonhead and Captain Josias Fendall to the house of Mr. Richard Preston, at Patuxent, to seize the records and carry them to St. Mary's; this he did wothout showing any authority by which he acted. But in threatening speeches declared that he would have the government, and hang the parliamentary Commissioners and all those appointed by them. Captain Fendall and Eltonhead, with 20 armed men, were sent to surprise and capture Mr. Preston, but were not successful, although they robbed the house and carried away a number of guns and much ammunition.

Captain Stone about March 20, started from Saint Mary's with his little army of about 300 men and 10 or 12 boats, some of the men went by land and some by water, using the boats to ferry the men over the rivers. After they left the Patuxent, Captain Stone sent Colonel Henry Coursey and Mr. Luke Barber to Providence with a proclamation addressed to the people of Ann Arundel, commanding them to deliver themselves up in a peaceful manner. This they refused to do saying " they

would rather die like men than live like slaves," and the messengers returned.

Col. Henry Coursey received grant for a thousand acres of land for his services in Lord Baltimore's cause at the battle of the Severn, and the widow of William Eltonhead received a grant of 10,000 acres.

Josias Fendall was, in 1658, appointed Governor by Lord Baltimore, and later was in rebellion against him.

On several occasions after the seizure of the records about March 5th, Captain Fuller offered to resign the government of the province to Captain Stone if he could show him any authority from the Lord Protector or from England justifying his action. This Stone refused to do.

On the evening of March 24, Captain Stone, with his little fleet and army had arrived within the outer harbor of Providence (Annapolis), and was within range of the shot of the "Golden Lyon." Captain Roger Heamans fired a shot at him to bring him or some messenger on board. No attention was paid to this signal, but arriving within the mouth of the Creek (Spa) he proceeded to land his men on the peninsula which lies on the southern side of both the river and creek. Hereupon Captain Heamans fired another shot upon the boats of Captain Stone as they were rowing to the shore, the shot landing somewhat near to them Captain Stone sent a messenger to the Golden Lyon to know the reason of the firing upon them, saying that Governor Stone thought the Captain "had been satisfied," to which the captain replied "satisfied with what," I never saw any power Captain Stone had to do as he hath done.

Previous to this a special warrant drawn up by Captain Fuller and his Council was affixed to the mainmast of the Golden Lyon by Secretary Durand, ordering Captain Heamans in the name of the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth of England to put his ship's company and ammunition to the service of the Commonwealth and if he failed so to do would answer at his peril.

Captain Stone, having landed his men, moved his boats

further up the creek. But Captain Fuller, with much prudence and forethought, fearing that they might come out at night and do much damage, ordered Captain John Cutts, Commander of a small New England ship with two cannon then lying in the river, to put his vessel across the mouth of the creek, so as to blockade it against Captain Stone's vessels and thus shut them up and prevent their coming out. The next morning at the break of day, being Sunday, 25th of March, 1655, Captain Stone appeared with his army in military parade on the eastern side of Spa Creek, marching with drums beating and colours flying (the colours were black and yellow, Lord Baltimore's) [3] they were shouting "come on ye Rogues, come on ye Rogues, you roundheaded Dogs, we will show you what Lord Baltimore will do to you." Captain Stone now brought out whole bagfuls of *chewed bullets rolled in gun powder* and gave them to his men telling them to fall on the *Roundhead Dogs,* saying "the devil take him that spares any."

The Captain of the Golden Lyon now fired two shots upon them which forced them to retire further back from the creek out of range of his guns, which killed one man.

Captain Fuller perceiving that the time admitted of no delay, resolved to go against the enemy, but having neither drums or flags in his party, sent for the English color used aboard the ship in the service of the Lord Protector, these were bent and fixed to a half pike for his use.

With his army of about 120 men he embarked on his boats and went up the river to the next creek (College or Dorseys), and up this creek a few miles toward what is now Bay Ridge Junction and about 4 miles from the enemy. He immediately sent away all his sloops and boats, thus burning his bridges behind him. He now marched directly for the enemy, going around the head of Spa Creek in the rear of Captain Stone's army. Here he pitched his colors, being those of the Commonwealth of England, which he believed might cause the enemy to

[3] See article on "The Provincial Flag of Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* September, 1914.

incline to a parley and thus prevent the shedding of blood. Captain Stone's men, however, fired upon the standard of the Commonwealth and killed the ensign bearer, William Ayres. Now Captain Fuller ordered his men to charge and gave the battle cry "In the name of God fall on; God is our strength"; this was the battle cry for Providence—"Hey for Saint Marie's" of Captain Stone's men. The charge was fierce and sharp for a time, but the enemy could not endure and were so effectually charged home that they were all routed, turned their backs, threw down their arms, and begged for mercy; about 40 were slain upon the field, formerly called "*Papist Pound,*" and many wounded, only 4 or 5 escaped who ran away to carry news to their confederates. All the rest were taken prisoners; among them Captain Stone, Colonel Price, Captain Gerrard, Captain Lewis, Captain Kendall, Captain Ginther, Major Chandler and all their other officers, also all their vessels, arms, ammunition and provisions were captured. Captain Fuller lost two killed and two died of their wounds.

Leonard Strong, the Puritan, who was in the battle, says, "God did appear wonderful in the field and in the hearts of our people, the praise of God was in every soldier's mouth. Captain Fuller and all the Company sang '*Give God the Glory,*' '*Blessed be the name of the Lord.*'"

Thus ended the battle of the Severn fought on Sunday, March 25th, 1655.

1. Being the first battle ever fought between American soldiers on American soil.

2. Being the first battle in which Dum-Dum bullets were used.

3. Being the 21st anniversary of the landing of Leonard Calvert on the soil of Maryland (Colonists day).

4. Being also the first battle in which the provincial flag of Maryland was used.

AN UNPUBLISHED POEM BY THE AUTHOR OF THE SOT WEED FACTOR.[1]

From the copy in the Library of Congress in the Bozman Papers.

Dignum laude virum, musa vetat mori. Horat,

And is that Lamp gone out, extinguish'd quite,
Which in the Western Circuit shone so bright?
Has Lock refined his Tenement of Clay,
And to some unknown Somewhere wing'd his way?
And shall he buried in oblivion lye?
Is there no Bard to wing his Elegy?
So are the Muses drop't asleep, since they
To Calvert's Ghost did their devotions pay?[2]
If so, I here will venture to be bold,
Invoke the melancholy Maid grown old,
Who, like the Turtle Dove, delights to sing,
And strike a Chorus, on the mournful string—
Awake, Melpomene!—behold the Dire
Decree of Fate! See on a sable Bier
(O mournful sight) he's quite deprived of Life,
The most impartial Judge of human Strife,
That ever yet, with an unbias'd hand,
The Scales of Justice held in Maryland.
Of whom, this may be said in brief—('tis true).
He more of *Galen,* than of Bracton knew.
And though there on the Bench remained a *Levin,*[3]
Yet to the Maid this Prophecy is given,

[1] An Elegy on the death of the Honorable William Lock, Esq., one of his Lordship's Provincial Justices, who departed this Life at his Seat in Anne Arundel County, May, 1732. By Ebenezer Cook, Poet Laureate. For Cook's other poems see the Society's Fund Publication, No. 37.

[2] Probably an allusion to a lost poem concerning the death of Gov. Benedict Leonard Calvert.

[3] Doubtless an allusion to Col. Levin Gale, another judge.

When Lock departed, Justice fled to Heaven.
Pardon my Muse, if here she soars too high
But 'tis her resolution none shall die
Who do deserve to live in Elegy.

His Epitaph.

Here lies the Corpse of William Lock, Esquire,
Sometime Provincial Justice was in Eyre;
In full assurance at the great Assise,
With Christ, our Judge and Advocate, to rise.
Thou, Reader, as Lock is, prepare to be;
Death's Power is absolute on Land and Sea.

THE LIFE OF THOMAS JOHNSON

Edward S. Delaplaine,
Of the Frederick Bar

Contents—Part Second

[The Maryland Historical Society in March printed two chapters of Mr. Delaplaine's "Life of Thomas Johnson," in which the career of Governor Johnson was traced up to the time he entered the public stage. For the faithful presentation of the ancestry and early life of the Revolutionary War Governor of Maryland, the first installment made a very favorable impression. We take pleasure in presenting another installment, containing Chapters III, IV and V, which describe Johnson's first participation in politics, from 1762 to 1774, as one of the delegates in the Provincial Assembly.—The Editor.]

CHAPTER III

Protests Against the Stamp Act in the Maryland Assembly

At the age of 29, Thomas Johnson, Jr., recognized already as one of the most prominent of the younger members of the Bar of Maryland, was elected one of the Delegates from Anne Arun-

del County in the Provincial Assembly. When he took his seat in the old Colonial Court House at Annapolis on the seventeenth of March, 1762, he started on a career in public life that covered a period of thirty years—a career which, for length, versatility and value of service, is unparalleled in the annals of the State. The member of Assembly, during the Colonial days, occupied a very exalted station. Champion, as he was, of the people's cause, he unfailingly received, if he tried faithfully to perform his duty, the gratitude and the veneration of his constituents, if not, indeed, of all the subjects in the Province. The delegates who were true to their constituents deserved their popularity, for they were the only public officials who represented the people and, as such, they did what they could to stem the tide of oppression that flowed from Crown, Ministry and Parliament and from Lord Proprietary, Governor and Council.

It is true, under the Proprietary form of Government, Maryland, when compared with the other Colonies, had a Charter which operated with unusual beneficence. Unlike Virginia, a Royal Province, under the direct control and domination of the King, Maryland belonged to one person—the Lord Proprietary —to whom the Crown delegated full control of the Province. Holding his domain as the patrimony of the family, the Proprietary stood in the relation of a *pater familias* to his Colony, which, if properly managed, would reflect glory to his name and bring wealth to his progeny. The comparative success of the Government of Maryland was thus largely attributable to the fact that the Province, like that of Pennsylvania, was vested in one family, for if these Colonies had been owned by several co-proprietors of different families, they would not have acted with the same sense of liberality and pride which animated a Proprietary, the name of whose family and the happiness of whose posterity were to be determined to a large extent by the wealth and prosperity of his Province. But even in Maryland, the subjects were at the complete mercy of the Proprietary and they looked to their chosen representatives as the guardians of their liberty. The Charter, which King Charles I granted to

Cecilius Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore, on June 20, 1632—the most comprehensive grant of civil power that ever came from the throne of England—gave the Lord Proprietary the right to appoint not only the Governor but all the officers of the Province. Then, too, the Upper House of the Assembly—the Council—was composed of men who were on intimate terms with the Proprietary Governor and hence were necessarily oftentimes antagonistic to the will of the people. "The existence of the Upper House," says John V. L. McMahon, "as a co-ordinate branch of the Legislature constituted one of the most objectionable features of the Assembly. It had all the disadvantages without the advantages of the House of Peers. The latter, if it is independent of the people, is also independent of the Crown; but the Upper House of the province, consisting of councillors appointed by the proprietary was an aristocracy of the worst kind—an aristocracy wholly independent of and irresponsible to the people, and at the same time the mere creature and dependant of the proprietary."

But further than that, for twenty years prior to the coronation of George III, the Lower House of the Maryland Assembly itself had been in control of a powerful group of men, who, although pretending to be "patriots," really deluded their constituents in order to keep in power and were actually inimical to the best interests of the Colonists. This faction, led by Phil Hammond, was composed of men of very inferior calibre; and their obstinate tempers and uncouth manners made their proceedings nothing short of disgusting. They did all they could to harass the Proprietary Governor. It was, accordingly, not long after Horatio Sharpe took the oath of office as Governor in 1753 that he warned the Lord Proprietary there were "too many instances of the lowest persons, at least men of small fortunes, no soul, and very mean capacity, appearing as representatives of their respective Counties." Thinking that perhaps the drudgery of electioneering may have deterred the better class of citizens from running for the Legislature, Governor Sharpe suggested that possibly, if the "canvass for seats" were

made less frequent, there might result an improvement in the House personnel. The interim between elections, however, was never lengthened.

On top of all this, in 1760, George III—one of the most despotic, and withal stubborn and stupid, monarchs that ever wore a crown since the dawn of civilization—ascended the throne of England. Fortunate, indeed, therefore, were the people of Maryland, when shortly after the accession of George III, men of the calibre of Thomas Johnson, Jr., secured control of the Lower House of the Provincial Assembly. The notorious Phil Hammond, the Opposition Leader in the House for over twenty years, died in 1760—the same year George was crowned King—and when the Assembly convened at Annapolis in March, 1762, as Thomas Johnson, Jr., took his seat in the House chamber for the first time, there was a change in its personnel that was most remarkable. The improvement was so noticeable that Governor Sharpe wrote to England: "We have had a general election, at which many well-behaved, sensible men were chosen in the stead of such as I have never desired to see again in the House." [8] Thus, the Radical faction was supplanted by a body of able and faithful Conservatives. The *soi-disant* patriots had given way to real patriots. The members of the Assembly were no longer demagogues: but, instead, the conscientious guardians of the people's liberty. From this time on until the outbreak of the war for independence, the names of Tilghman and Hollyday, Johnson, Chase and Paca, Ringgold, Lloyd, Goldsborough, Worthington, Ridgely, and other prominent Maryland families added dignity to the proceedings and lustre to the annals of the Colonial Legislature. For an entire decade, Thomas Johnson served continuously as a Delegate from Anne Arundel County. In this period, most of the members were men of considerable brilliance. Mr. Eddis, the Englishman who served at Annapolis as Surveyor of the Customs, wrote the following description of the personnel of the Assembly in the day of Delegate Thomas Johnson:

[8] Sharpe's *Correspondence*, Vol. III, p. 24.

"The Delegates returned are persons of the greatest consequence in their different Counties, and many of them are frequently acquainted with the political and commercial interests of their constituents. I have frequently heard subjects debated with great powers of eloquence and force of reason; and the utmost regularity and propriety distinguished the whole of their proceedings."

When early in the reign of King George III, the Parliament began to consider the expedience of passing an act to raise taxes in the British Colonies of North America, Governor Sharpe, aware of the "great powers of eloquence and force of reason" of the members of the Provincial Assembly in Maryland, was very slow in calling together the Assembly. Under the Maryland Charter, the Lord Proprietary had the right to *convene, adjourn, prorogue* and *dissolve* the Provincial Assembly; and this prerogative was delegated to the Governor, who used it as a sword over the heads of the Assemblymen. If the Delegates were likely to cause trouble for the Proprietary Government, they were not called together; if in session, they were speedily prorogued. This use of prerogative however, instead of driving the people from their convictions, generally had the effect of making them all the more defiant and their representatives eager to rally more loyally to accomplish the desires of their constituents. But while James Otis, in Massachusetts, and Patrick Henry, in Virginia, were "touching the chord of public feeling, already tremblingly alive," the Maryland House of Delegates was prevented from officially pronouncing a single word of resentment.

Even the high dignitaries in England looked upon Maryland with suspicion. During the French and Indian War, brought to an end by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, the requisitions for men and money recommended by the Governor of Maryland, were disregarded by the Assembly. Maryland's passive course, however, was due neither to selfish disregard nor to timid abandonment of the common cause. She was ever anxious to provide for the general defense and to promote the welfare of her

sister Colonies. But, at the outbreak of the French and Indian War, when George Washington, Thomas Johnson and Richard Henry Lee were just arriving at man's estate, there unfortunately arose a dispute in Maryland over the *modus operandi* of raising the revenue to provide for the defense appropriations. Lord Baltimore claimed exemption from taxation and the representatives of the provincials insisted that the Proprietary ought to pay his share. Whilst deeply sensible of the obligations resting upon them to provide for the common defense, the members of Maryland's Colonial Legislature felt that to safeguard their constituents from the tryanny of unjust taxation was a more sacred duty; and they refused to suffer the discharge of a duty to the Crown and the sister Colonies depend upon their disregard of the very birthright of the British subjects whom they represented. As "the power to tax is the power to destroy," the members of the House and, indeed, the people everywhere felt that upon the preservation by the Assembly of the power to impose taxes depended the very liberty of the Colonists. The demands of the Upper House could not have been granted without a surrender of those principles to which the Delegates stood unalterably pledged. A deadlock resulted and the appropriations were defeated.

The expenditures of the British Government in the prosecution of the War had added greatly to the debt of the Empire; and the Ministry took the position that the Colonists, for whom the war had been waged, could well afford to relieve England of a portion of the expense of running the Royal Government. But while imposed to help pay England's heavy indebtedness resulting from the conduct of the war and the payment of subsidies to the King of Prussia, the Stamp Act was also an experiment, prompted in large measure by the failure of several of the Colonies—particularly Maryland—to comply with the requisitions of the King during the French War, to pave the way for more complete supremacy of the Crown over the recalcitrant Colonies. Indeed, William Pitt himself—later one of the champions of American liberty—was so incensed at Maryland's

apathy that he avowed his intention of bringing the Colonies into such a state of subjugation that the Royal Government, upon the restoration of peace, would be enabled to compel obedience to every requisition of the Crown. It was natural, therefore, that the able representatives in the popular branch of the Maryland Assembly should have been watched with grave suspicion at the time Parliament was preparing to place a tax on all the Colonies.

In the House of Commons, the celebrated Stamp Act was passed by a majority of 5 to 1, and in the House of Lords the vote in favor of the measure was unanimous. Seized by a fit of insanity, George III was unable to sign the bill, but a Board of Commissioners, acting on His Majesty's behalf, on March 22, 1765, gave the Royal assent.

The Stamp Act provided that all legal documents in the Colonies had to bear British stamps. Colonial publications and advertisements were taxed, and contracts of every nature, unless written on paper bearing the Royal stamps, were declared to be unenforceable. The Act kindled the patriotic flame in the breasts of the Colonists. Soon after the news of its passage reached America, the resentment of the Colonists became malignant. Benjamin Franklin wrote to a friend: "The sun of American liberty has set. Now we must light the lamps of industry and economy." Immediately came the reply: "Be assured that we shall light torches of another sort!" This prediction, as Ridpath affirms, reflected the sentiment of the whole country. And it was a true prediction.

Nowhere in America, was the resentment more bitter against Taxation without Representation than in Maryland. Her Charter declared that the subjects residing within the limits of the Province were entitled to all the liberties of British freemen. Accordingly, Marylanders contended that the covenants in the Charter expressly exempted them from taxation by Great Britain. And although Thomas Johnson and his colleagues in the Assembly were prevented by repeated prorogations, from making an official remonstrance before final action had been

taken by Parliament, the people throughout Maryland courageously indicated their indignation. When the news of the arrival of Zachariah Hood, an Annapolis merchant, whom the British Ministry had appointed stamp distributor for Maryland, spread through the Colony, the people in Annapolis, Frederick Town and elsewhere burnt him in effigy. Chief Judge James McSherry once described the treatment of Zachariah Hood in the following manner: "His effigy was placed upon a one-horse cart like a malefactor and was hauled through the streets of Annapolis while the bells tolled a knell; and after being placed in the pillory it was hanged to a gibbet and a tar barrel underneath of it was set on fire and the effigy fell into the flames and was burned to ashes." On the second of September, the subjects again demonstrated their hostility to Hood by assembling at Annapolis and completely demolishing his house. The hated stamp official was forced to flee from the Province. He made his way to New York, where he later resigned his commission as stamp distributor. Zachariah Hood was the first and the last stamp agent in Maryland.

Although the Maryland Assembly was in session only five weeks during the year 1762 and seven weeks in 1763, Governor Sharpe failed to convene it at all during the year 1764.

Finally, nearly six months after the Stamp Act had been imposed, Governor Sharpe issued a call for the Assembly. The people assembled at various places, soon after this news was received, for the purpose of instructing their Delegates-elect to protest against the Stamp Act in the Maryland Assembly. In Anne Arundel County, for example, the freemen, assembling on September 7, 1765, passed a set of Instructions for their representatives in the Lower House—Brice T. B. Worthington, Henry Hall, John Hammond and Thomas Johnson, Jr.—basing the claim to exemption from taxation by Parliament upon their rights and privileges as British subjects, the express provisions in the Maryland Charter and the uninterrupted precedent established in the Province. Taxes could be imposed, they contended, only with the consent of the subjects themselves or their

chosen representatives. "And," they continued, "we do unanimously protest against our being charged in any other manner, and by any other other powers whatsoever; and we do request of you, our Representatives, that this Protest may be entered, and stand recorded, in your Journal, amongst the proceedings of your House, if it may be regularly done." Mr. Johnson and his colleagues were requested, in addition, to move an Address of Thanks to General Conway and Col. Isaac Barré for asserting the liberty of the Colonists and to advocate, in accordance with the proposal from the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay, the appointment of a Committee to attend a General Congress in New York, to consider the state of affairs in the Colonies and to join in a Memorial to the Crown.

The members of the House met September 23, 1765, in a spirit little short of revolutionary. The *fiat* of public sentiment in uncompromising hostility to the Stamp Act had been issued, and the Delegates, after two years of inactivity, required little time for deliberation concerning the most expedient course to pursue. As soon as the House came to order, the members took up for consideration the Circular Letter from the Massachusetts Assembly; and the plan, on the following day, was unanimously endorsed. With the concurrence of the Council and the approval of Governor Sharpe, the Assembly appropriated £500 to pay the expenses of Maryland's Delegates to New York. The Assembly selected Col. Edward Tilghman, of Queen Anne's, Thomas Ringgold, of Kent, and William Murdock, of Prince George's—three of the most brilliant and experienced statesmen of their day—as the Delegates from Maryland.

Up to this time, young Mr. Johnson had served only about 70 days, in all, as a Delegate in the Provincial Assembly; but in this short time his sound judgment had already been displayed. When, therefore, the Assembly appointed a Committee of Seven, with the able James Hollyday, of Queen Anne's County, as chairman, to draft a set of instructions for Maryland's representaties in the General Congress, the young An-

napolis lawyer was chosen one of the members. The other members of the Committee were: John Hammond, of Anne Arundel; John Hanson, Jr., of Charles; John Goldsborough, of Talbot; and Edmund Key and Daniel Wolstenholme, of St. Mary's. The seven Delegates framed their instructions with great haste, for on September 25, 1765, they brought in their report to the House. Tilghman, Ringgold and Murdock, they recommended, should repair immediately to the General Congress at New York "there to join in a general and united, dutiful, loyal, and humble representation to his Majesty and the British Parliament, of the circumstances and condition of the British Colonies; and to pray relief from the burdens and restraints lately laid upon their trade and commerce, and especially from the taxes imposed by the Stamp Act, whereby they are deprived, in some instances, of that invaluable privilege of Englishmen and British subjects, trials by jury; and to take care that such representation should humbly and decently, *but expressly*, contain an assertion of the right of the Colonists, to be exempt from all and every taxations and impositions upon their persons and property, to which they do not consent in a legislative way, either by themselves, or their representatives freely chosen and appointed." The Committee's recommendations, it is needless to say, were accepted.

The plan of holding a General Congress of the Colonies having been speedily endorsed, the Maryland Assembly thereupon determined to enunciate, with more solemnity and with due formality, "the constitutional rights and privileges of the freemen of the Province." Again, Thomas Johnson was honored by being placed on this important Committee. Colonel Tilghman and Messrs. Ringgold and Murdock—the Delegates who were preparing to leave for New York to represent Maryland at the General Congress—were named to assist in the preparation of the Resolutions. The other members of the Committee were: James and Henry Hollyday, Samuel Chase, Brice T. B. Worthington, John Hammond, Edmund Key, Daniel Wolstenholme, Samuel Wilson, Charles Grahame and John Goldsborough.

The Committee reported its "Bill of Rights" on September 28, 1765, and it was adopted without a single dissenting vote. Referring to these Resolves, Mr. McMahon says: "Pre-eminent amongst all the legislative declarations of the Colonies, for the lofty and dignified tone of their remonstrance, and for the entire unanimity with which they were adopted, they form one of the proudest portions of our history." [9] If there were any doubts in the minds of the British Ministry as to whether Maryland would concur with the refractory Colonies, such doubts were now dispelled. Maryland had, in bold and uncompromising language, officially asserted her position.

This done, the legislators refused to entertain any other business and requested Governor Sharpe to give them "a short recess of a few weeks." This request was most undoubtedly made, for the purpose, although not expressly avowed, of awaiting the issue of the General Congress at New York. The Governor indicated that he was willing to grant them a recess, but, in his Message to the Home, he added that inasmuch as the British stamps would arrive before they re-convened and as Zachariah Hood, the stamp distributor, had fled from the Province, he was anxious to have the Assemblymen's advice as to what to do with the stamps when the British vessel anchored. Immediately upon receiving this inquiry, the House selected eleven of its most able members to draft a reply to His Excellency. And once again Mr. Johnson was honored by being chosen to serve on a committee with Edward Tilghman, Thomas Ringgold, and William Murdock. Their associates were: James and Henry Hollyday, Samuel Chase, John Hammond, Daniel Wolstenholme, William Allen and John Goldsborough. The Committee recommended the following Reply: "We should think ourselves extremely happy were we in circumstances to advise your Exellency on so new a subject; but it being a matter of importance, and such as we do not think ourselves at liberty to advise in, without the instructions of our constituents, which

[9] John V. L. McMahon, *Historical View of the Government of Maryland* (1831), p. 345.

we cannot now obtain, we hope your Excellency will think us excusable for declining to offer you any advice upon the occasion." On September 28, 1765, after being in session only six days, the Assembly was prorogued. When the British sloop-of-war *Hawke* arrived with the stamped paper aboard, there was no person to receive it and no place in Maryland where it could be stored in safety. Governor Sharpe, in accordance with the suggestion of his Council, directed the commander of the vessel to keep it on board until instructions could be procured from the British Ministry concerning the disposal of the stamps. None of the British stamps were ever used in Maryland.

When the Assembly re-convened on November 1, Tilghman, Ringgold and Murdock presented a report of their course of action at the Congress in New York. The Congress had convened with 28 delegates in attendance at the City Hall in New York on the 7th of October, 1765. All the Colonies, with the exception of New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia, were represented, and these four, although unrepresented, sympathized with the general cause. The Congress adopted a Declaration of Rights, an Address to the Crown, and a Memorial to Parliament. The course of action pursued at New York by Maryland's Delegates was heartily endorsed by the Maryland Assembly and a vote of thanks was given them for the able and faithful discharge of their duties.

The Stamp Act was to have become effective on the first day of November, 1765, but nowhere were any British stamps to be found in the Province. How was business to be carried on, if unstamped documents, under the Act of Parliament, had no legal value? This problem was soon to be solved by the Frederick County Court. The November Term of Court convening on the nineteenth of the month, the "Immortal Twelve," on the 23rd of November, 1765, after the Clerk of the Court had refused to issue any papers without British stamps, decided that the Stamp Act should be repudiated, *i. e.*, that "all proceedings shall be valid and effective without the use of stamps." Their decision was revolutionary. The Parliament of Great Britain,

possessing the sovereignty of the country, has had the power to pass arbitrary and unjust enactments, because there has never been a written Constitution from which its authority is derived or by which the Courts can test the validity of its will. What Parliament doth, said Sir William Blackstone, no authority on earth can undo. Everywhere throughout the Province the defiant action of the Court was acclaimed with great rejoicing. One of the most memorable demonstrations was that held at Frederick Town, where the people held a mock funeral of the Stamp Act, at which the effigy of Zachariah Hood, the would-be stamp distributor, officiated as the sole mourner. After a burlesque funeral oration, the offensive document and the effigy of Hood were buried together "amid loud cheers and ruffs of the drums."

The Assembly, which convened November 1, 1765, continued in session nearly until Christmas. Considerable time was spent in wrangling over the payment of public claims, and so exasperating did the dissensions between the two Houses become that a report came to Governor Sharpe on the tenth of December that Col. Thomas Cresap, one of the members of the Provincial Assembly from Frederick County, who had been instrumental in October in effecting an organization of the "Sons of Liberty" in Frederick County, had assembled in Frederick Town between 300 and 400 men, "many of them armed with guns and tomahawks," with the intention of marching to Annapolis in order to bring the law-makers to their senses. As soon as he received the report, Governor Sharpe warned the Assembly. When it assembled at two o'clock on the afternoon of December 10, 1765, the Message from His Excellency was read and a Committee of five of the ablest Delegates was appointed to frame a Reply. Mr. Johnson was chosen to serve as Chairman of the Committee. His associates were: James Hollyday, Thomas Ringgold, William Murdock, and Brice T. B. Worthington. Colonel Cresap was an intimate friend of Mr. Johnson. A few years before, the Colonel had been chosen one of the directors of the Company, formed with the aid of

George Washington and Thomas Johnson to improve the navigation of the Potomac. The House adjourned to meet eight o'clock the following morning, when Mr. Johnson submitted the following Reply: "In answer to your Message of last Night, we assure your Excellency, we are very sensible of the bad Consequences of large Bodies of People coming hither, with a view to Intimidate either Branch of the Legislature, or to lay them under any Restraint. We shall therefore immediately take every Step in our Power to prevent any Measures that may have such Tendency: To which End, we pray your Excellency to lay before us the Evidences you have received of the Arming or Assembling of any Bodies of People with that Intention.

"We are very sorry to find such an Imputation on a Member of our House, as that laid on Col. Cresap; and we yet have Hope, your Excellency's Information, in that Particular, is without just Foundation, as it appears by our Journals, that he has not attended the House since the 22d of November, at which Time we conclude he left this Place; and when it could not be foreseen that any Difficulties would arise between the Two Houses in relation to the Payment of any Public Claims.

"As we should be very far from Countenancing, in any of our Members, a Conduct tending to disturb the Public Peace, and deprive any Branch of the Legislature of that Freedom of Debating and Judging, which is essential to the Constitution, we think it a Justice to the Public, as well as to Col. Cresap, that this Charge against him should be examined and set in a True Light; and therefore hope your Excellency will communicate to this House the Evidence on which the Charge contained in your Message, is founded."

Mr. Johnson read the Report aloud to the House, and after he delivered it at the Speakers' table, it was adopted and engrossed for delivery to the Governor. The House adjourned until two o'clock, when another Message from the Executive, presenting copies of depositions, was presented to the Assembly. The rumors were groundless. All apprehensions were

set at rest on December 14th, when a resident of Frederick County testified at the bar of the House that Frederick Town was calm and that Colonel Cresap himself averred that he expected the troubles in the Assembly proceedings to be removed and the Journal to pass. It does not appear that "Cresap's Army" ever marched to Annapolis.

So bitterly did all the Colonies condemn the Stamp Act that Parliament at an early date took up the question of its repeal. Lord Mansfield stubbornly affirmed the absolute supremacy of the British Parliament in realm and dominions, but Camden and Pitt, the Earl of Chatham, pointing to the distinction between taxation and legislation, denied the right of Parliament to tax the Colonists. It is interesting to observe in this connection that in the great Stamp Act debate on January 14, 1776, in the House of Commons, when Edmund Burke made his maiden speech, William Pitt quoted freely from the argument, and even from the language, of the essay published in Annapolis, Maryland, on October 14, 1765, by Daniel Dulany, that brightest of all the stars in the legal firmament, not only in Maryland, but in all America, whose talents young Mr. Johnson had the opportunity to observe at close range for many years during his residence at Annapolis. Woodrow Wilson has paid the following tribute [10] to the great Dulany and his essay on the Stamp Act: "Mr. Daniel Dulany's 'Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies for the Purpose of Raising a Revenue by Act of Parliament,' supplied the great Pitt with the chief grounds of his argument against taxing America. A Maryland lawyer had turned from leading the bar of a province to set up the true theory of the constitution of an empire with the dignity, the moderation, the power, the incommunicable grace of a great thinker and genuine man of letters." The Grenville Ministry having been succeeded by the Rockingham Administration, the famous Stamp Act, on March 18, 1766—almost exactly one year after its passage—was repealed.

[10] Woodrow Wilson, *History of the American People* (1902), Vol. III, p. 87.

Maryland, on account of the prorogation of her Assembly by Governor Sharpe until the autumn of 1765, was late in filing her official Remonstrance; but, when once made it was, indeed, "pre-eminent amongst all the legislative declarations of the Colonies." And Thomas Johnson, Jr., of Annapolis, emerged from the controversy, at the age of 33, one of the ablest and most conspicuous champions of the American cause.

CHAPTER IV

One of the Builders of the State House

Horatio Sharpe was Proprietary Governor of Maryland for a period of fifteen years. Having served prior to the appointment of General Braddock, as commander-in-chief of the Royal forces operating against the French on the Ohio, Sharpe was by nature militaristic; but, notwithstanding his impetuous and arbitrary disposition, he commanded, on account of his efficiency and integrity, the respect of the people of Maryland. His long Administration gave them as much satisfaction as could have been expected under the Colonial Government. Under the age of 21 years at the time Sharpe arrived in Maryland, Thomas Johnson, Jr., grew during the Sharpe administration from a youth to a mature statesmen, fully prepared to lead the cause of the people in the struggle for American independence.

On the first of August, 1768, Frederick Calvert, the Lord Proprietary of Maryland, commissioned his brother-in-law, Captain Robert Eden, then only 28 years of age, Governor of the Province. Young Sir Robert sailed the Atlantic in the spring of 1769, arriving in Maryland on the fifth of June. When the Provincial Assembly met on the 17th of November for the first time in his Administration, he had a number of experienced men in his Council, to advise him, chief among whom were Daniel Dulany, Benedict Calvert and Richard Lee. In the popular branch Mr. Johnson was surrounded by a brilliant array of Colonial statesmen—men like Matthew and Edward Tilghman, James Hollyday, Chase and Paca. As soon

as they assembled, the two Houses received a Message from Governor Eden, to which they returned Addresses couched in such courteous language that the young Governor, a few days later wrote to Lord Hillsborough that indications pointed to an end of all trouble with the Colonists!

Up to this time the members of the Assembly held their sessions in the old Provincial Court House, on the site of the present State Capitol, while the Governor and his Council met in the tiny building used for many years afterwards as the office of the State Treasurer. In a letter to his friends in England in October, 1769, Mr. Eddis described the Colonial Court House and the Council building in the following manner:

"In the Court-house, the representatives of the people assemble, for the dispatch of provincial business. The courts of justice are also held here, and here likewise the public offices are established. This building has nothing in its appearance expressive of the great purposes to which it is appropriated, and by a strange neglect, is suffered to fall continually into decay, being, both without and within, an emblem of public poverty, and at the same time a severe reflection on the Government of this country, which, it seems, is considerably richer than the generality of the American provinces.

"The Council-chamber is a detached building, adjacent to the former, on a very humble scale. It contains one tolerable room, for the reception of the Governor and Council, who meet here during the sitting of the Assembly, and whose concurrence is necessary in passing all laws."

One of the first steps taken by the Maryland Assembly in Governor Eden's Administration was to provide for the erection of a State House. The plan having been adopted to select seven members of the Assembly to superintend its construction, the great Dulany, the leader in the Governor's Council, and Thomas Johnson, now one of the most prominent members of the Lower House, were chosen to serve together on this Committee. The other five were: Lancelot Jacques, Charles Wallace, William Paca, John Hall, and Charles Carroll, barrister.

An appropriation of £7500 Sterling was made by the Assembly to carry on the work, while the Building Committee was given the power to draw on the Treasurer of the Eastern or the Western Shore for any further amount that might be necessary to complete the building. Any four, being a majority, were authorized to proceed with the purchase of material and employment of workmen and to exercise general supervision over the construction of the building. The fact that Mr. Johnson was one of the Delegates who built the Maryland State House is memorable, because of the historic fact that within its walls his distinguished friend, George Washington, resigned his command as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army, a command to which he was nominated by Johnson at Philadelphia in 1775.

The corner-stone of the Maryland State House was laid by Governor Eden on March 28, 1772. It was a beautiful spring day, when the trees of ancient Annapolis were just beginning to bud. Although there was not a cloud in the sky, tradition says that at noon when Governor Eden rapped the corner-stone of the future State House with his mallet, there came from the heavens a violent clap of thunder. Dr. Bernard C. Steiner views this alleged meteorological phenomenon with suspicion, for in his biography of Governor Eden, he says that the newspaper account of the corner-stone laying in the *Maryland Gazette* recounts the "three cheers" given by the workmen, the collation and the toasts, but makes no mention of the traditional noise of thunder.

The State House, erected under the direction of Dulany, Johnson, Jacques, Hall, Carroll barrister, Wallace and Paca, was built upon plans characterized at once by stateliness and simplicity. It was beyond the range of anyone's imagination that a member of the Lower House, or, indeed, any provincial, would in a few years occupy this building as Governor of a free and independent State. But on a March day, five years later, Mr. Johnson was inaugurated within its walls as the first Governor of the State.

After the War of the Revolution, a dome was added to the State House and at this point mention should be made to the death of Thomas Dance, who executed the fresco and stucco work on the interior of the dome. Losing his hold just as he had completed the centre piece, the artisan slipped from his scaffold and was killed on the floor below. The Maryland State House, enlarged and beautified during the administration of Governor Edwin Warfield, still stands as one of America's most beautiful specimens of Colonial architecture.

CHAPTER V

Champion of Maryland's Remonstrance Against the Arbitrary Regulation of Officers' Fees

Taxation, under the régime of the Proprietaries, was the cause of frequent controversies in Maryland between the Proprietary Governor and the people. As early as the year 1650, the sacred principle of *No Taxation Without Representation* was recognized by the Maryland Provincial Assembly in a decree that no taxes should be levied without the assent of the people themselves or their representatives. Privileged to worship God in their own way, the British subjects in Maryland felt that the imposition of taxes in a manner objectionable to the Lower House constituted a species of economic slavery. *Taxes, duties, licenses, fees, fines and forfeitures,* imposed to support the Proprietary Government, each gave rise from time to time to some important controversy. With each succeeding session of the Provincial Assembly, the Maryland freemen became more positive in their demand that the Lord Proprietary or the Governor should not interfere with the right of the people to regulate the taxes imposed within the Province. In 1743—when Thomas Johnson, Jr., was a lad only ten years of age—Daniel Dulany was protesting to Governor Bladen and his Council that the only measure that could possibly save the tobacco industry from threatened ruin in Maryland — the *Tobacco Inspection Act*—was prevented from being passed on account of bitter wrangling over Officers' Fees.

In the Colony, public officials received fees, instead of regular salaries, for their services. The fees were specified in Acts of Assembly, and therefore the people regulated, through their legally authorized representatives, the compensation of the public officials of the Province. In the Assembly of 1763—the second session in which Mr. Johnson was a member—one of these Fee Bills was passed and it was continued, from time to time, until October 1, 1770, when the fee controversy in which Mr. Johnson took a prominent part began to grow acute.

Johnson's first practical experience with the problems of taxation came in 1765. Chosen in the second Assembly session of that year to serve as chairman of a committee to examine the account of the Clerk of the Council, he made a thorough investigation of the monies arising at common law for the support of the Proprietary Government. On the morning of December 10, 1765, Chairman Johnson presented his report to the House. The fines, forfeitures, etc., Mr. Johnson reported exceeded 100,000 pounds of tobacco. Discussion of the subject was postponed several days, when the House decreed that the Clerk of the Council should thereafter be allowed no fees for (a) writing Inspector's Commissions, (b) recording bonds of Naval Officers, or (c) filing nominations of Vestrymen and Church Wardens. Delegate Johnson stood with the majority in the first instance, but in the second and third instances, he voted in favor of allowing fees for the clerk.

Delegates Samuel Chase and Thomas Johnson, Jr., at the Assembly session of 1769, assailed the Fee Bill; but only about one-third of the delegates voted against the measure and, accordingly, it was extended for another year.

When the Assembly met on September 25, 1770, the Fee Bill was again presented to the House for renewal. But it was contended that many of the Proprietary officials—especially the Provincial Secretary, the Commissary General, the Judges and the Register of the Land Office, all of whom were members of the Upper House, or Governor's Council—were receiving excessive fees; and the members of the Lower House were rather

indignant. Message after message, indicative of bitter animosity, went back and forth between the two chambers. The members of the Lower House soon realized that it was impossible to fix the fees in accordance with their own wishes, and they entertained the suspicion that the members of the Council were designing to end the deadlock by having Governor Eden issue a proclamation regulating the fees of all Provincial officers. The delegates thereupon proceeded, as if it were possible to forestall such a step, to resolve that a proclamation of this character would be unjust and illegal. Accordingly, on November 1, 1770, the Lower House passed a resolution declaring that the representatives of the freemen of Maryland, with the assent of "the other part of the Legislature," had the sole right to impose taxes and fees, and that the imposition thereof by the Lord Proprietary or the Governor or any other person not the representative of the people was "arbitrary, unconstitutional and oppressive."

But the Governor, acting on the advice of his Council, utterly disregarded the resolution of the Lower House. After nearly two months of bitter wrangling, the Assembly was prorogued on November 21, 1770, without effecting a renewal of the Fee Act, and on November 26, 1770, Governor Eden issued his Proclamation, re-establishing the Fee Act of 1763.

Throughout the length and breadth of Maryland, Governor Eden's Proclamation aroused great indignation. Assembly leaders of the stamp of Mr. Johnson, other prominent men in the Province, arose to the occasion and denounced the Governor's assumption of power.

Governor Eden did not call the Assembly together until the 2d of October, 1771, when he carefully avoided, in his address to the Assembly, all reference to the hated Proclamation.

The formal Remonstrance was delayed several days by the notable contest of Jonathan Hager for his seat in the House. The eligibility of Mr. Hager, the founder of Hagerstown, Maryland, was questioned by reason of the fact that he was not a natural-born subject. The Elections Committee having reported

that he "came into America and was naturalized," the matter was set down for full discussion on Tuesday, October 8, when Mr. Hager was represented by able counsel. Although the law seemed to be clearly against Mr. Hager, Delegate Thomas Johnson, Jr., made a stubborn fight, probably on account of personal friendship, to have him seated. Like Colonel Cresap, Mr. Hager had been chosen in 1762 as one of the directors of the Potomac Company, and he was a prominent and popular citizen of Western Maryland. William Paca and William Smallwood—two brilliant young men, who were destined to add lustre to the annals of Maryland in the War of the Revolution and as Governors of the State—were lined up with Mr. Johnson in behalf of Mr. Hager. The contestants were led by Samuel Chase, later a member of the United States Supreme Court, who contended that an incontrovertible provision of the British law rendered Hager ineligible to sit as a delegate in the Provincial Assembly. The contest aligned the "Progressives" against the "Conservatives." While the debate was in progress, Mr. Hager looked on; but when the Speaker was ready to put the question to the House, he was requested to withdraw from the chamber. At that time, the House consisted of fifty-eight members—twenty-eight from the Eastern Shore and thirty from the balance of the Colony. Delegate Johnson mustered only eight votes from the Eastern Shore and fifteen from Western Maryland, where Hager was well known. By a vote of twenty-four to twenty-three, the House declared Jonathan Hager ineligible. After the ballot had been taken, Mr. Hager was called to the bar of the House and politely informed by the Speaker, that the House discharged him from any further attendance.

Jonathan Hager was not rejected from the Assembly by reason of any personal antipathy. The issue was based on the construction of the law. This was plainly indicated three days later, when there appeared a bill to repeal that portion of the law forbidding a naturalized subject to have a seat in the Provincial Assembly. Samuel Chase, who led the fight against Mr. Hager, was himself one of the delegates who brought in the bill.

The measure was expeditiously passed, and on October 16, 1771—eight days after Jonathan Hager was dismissed—the Speaker left his chair and repaired, in company with the members of the House, to the council chamber to present the bill to Governor Eden, who forthwith signed and sealed it on behalf of the Lord Proprietary. So speedily was this Act passed and approved, that Mr. Hager was enabled to take his seat in the House before the close of the session. Re-elected a delegate from Frederick county, he qualified as a member of the Assembly on the 16th of November, 1771, in time to vote for the celebrated Remonstrance against the Fee Proclamation.

This memorable Protest was prepared by Thomas Johnson after it became plain that the passage of a new Fee Bill was impossible. Early in October, soon after the Assembly had convened, the Committee on Grievances reported that the fees of the Provincial officers were excessive and a Fee Bill was passed by the Lower House for submission to the Council. The members of the Upper House, on October 30, 1771, rejected the bill but suggested that conferees be appointed to take the matter under consideration. Notwithstanding the fact that Thomas Johnson, William Paca, Samuel Chase, Tilghman and Smallwood were opposed to this proposition, the Lower House, by a vote of twenty-eight to nineteen, decided in favor of a conference, and then selected Delegates Johnson, Chase, Tilghman, Hall, Hammond, Grahame and Dennis to act as the conferees of the Lower House.

On account of the uncompromising position of the delegates, on the one side, and the grim determination of the councillors to support Governor Eden and his Proclamation, on the other, the conferees clashed in deadlock. On the 4th of November, 1771, the members of the Council submitted a list of proposals, which was not entirely satisfactory to the Lower House; and two days later they submitted a second list, which was immediately rejected. The Council and the House in turn asked that the conference be discontinued, but proposals continued to fly back and forth between the two chambers. At last, on the

22d of November, the conference came to an end. The attempt to settle the controversy by compromise had unquestionably failed.

It was on the following day—the 23d of November, 1771—that the Lower House took under consideration the memorable Address to His Excellency, prepared by Delegate Thomas Johnson, Jr., of Anne Arundel county, as a Remonstrance against the Fee Proclamation.

Mr. Johnson contended, in this masterly Protest, that the levying of fees for public officials constituted a tax upon the people; and, in support of his contention, quoted from Coke's *Institutes* and the *Statute de tallagio non concedendo.* Under the common law, officers of justice, he claimed, were paid out of the revenues of the Crown, and there was no precedent, he asserted, for the regulation of fees by Proclamation. Inasmuch as the power to tax was reposed in the legislative branch of the Government, Delegate Johnson argued with great force and effect that the arbitrary regulation of fees by Governor Eden was "unconstitutional in the matter and shadowed in the manner, with the assigned reason to prevent extortion by the officers, in imitation of the practice of arbitrary kings, who, in their proclamations, which have been declared illegal, generally covered their designs with the specious pretence of public good."

Delegate Johnson made it plain that the members of the Lower House were convinced that, although issued by Governor Eden, the Fee Proclamation had been schemed by ulterior advisers. "The advisers of the Proprietary," declared Mr. Johnson, "are enemies of the peace, welfare and happiness of this Province and of the laws and Constitution thereof!" He challenged the Governor to disclose to the Assembly the names of the men who had advised him to issue the Proclamation, or else issue a denial.

In a brilliant conclusion, worthy of Marshall or Webster, Mr. Johnson presented the following logical argument:

"This act of power is founded on the destruction of constitutional security. If the Proclamation may rightfully regulate

the fees, it has a right to fix any *quantum*. If it has a right to regulate, it has a right to regulate to a million; for where does its right stop? At any given point! To attempt to limit the right, after granting it to exist at all, is contrary to justice. If it has a right to tax us, then, whether our money shall continue in our own pockets depends no longer on us, but on the prerogative."

Concerning Mr. Johnson's Remonstrance, Doctor Steiner has written the following well-deserved tribute:

"The masterly logic of this Address reminds us of that used by Marshall in his decision in the case of McCulloh *versus* Maryland and is one of the many proofs of the thorough legal education of the patriotic leaders of the Province."

The Report of Thomas Johnson, Jr., was adopted with only three members dissenting. The positive language, in which the Remonstrance was couched, gave evidence of the indignant feeling of the Colonists. By adopting the Remonstrance as written by Johnson, the Assembly took an unwavering and courageous stand.

Within six days—on November 29, 1771—Governor Eden issued a reply, in which he attempted to justify his position. The Executive declared that with the right to appoint public officials, the Lord Proprietary had the right, by implication, to determine their emoluments. Governor Eden pointed to precedents, in other dominions, for the regulation of officers' fees by Royal prerogative. He also denied that a Jury had the right to fix the *quantum* of fees when not established by law; and in support of this contention he declared that under the Maryland law, an action could not be brought before a Jury, if the amount in controversy were below 600 pounds of tobacco or fifty shillings, current money.

Like Delegate Johnson's Remonstrance, Governor Eden's reply was skilfully framed. It presented the case of the Lord Proprietary in the best light possible. And it indicated, beyond peradventure, that a compromise of any kind was an impossibility. Every Fee bill proposed by the Lower House was

speedily rejected by the Council. Indignant and exasperated, the Delegates were now ready to leave for their homes, and on the 30th of November, 1771, Governor Eden prorogued the Assembly.

For the following year and a half, there was no session of the Provincial Assembly. During this time, some of the people of Maryland paid the fees under protest, while others absolutely refused to pay. The smouldering fires of discontent broke out into a flame early in 1773, when Charles Carroll of Carrollton, under the name, *First Citizen,* published in the *Maryland Gazette* a powerful attack against Governor Eden's Proclamation. His article was answered by Daniel Dulany, as *Antilon.* Having been appointed to the lucrative office of Provincial Secretary, Dulany had no other course to pursue than to endeavor to uphold the justice and the constitutionality of the Proclamation. Rebuttals and surrebuttals came from the pen of Carroll and Dulany. Replete with gems from the classics and bulwarked with the most powerful arguments, and marked by bitterness restrained by the bounds of courtesy, the articles are masterpieces of logic and legal learning. They thoroughly aroused the people of the Colony. They made Charles Carroll of Carrollton a hero and they spelt the doom of the popularity of the great Dulany. In Annapolis, a tumultous crowd assembled in May, 1773, after the closing of the polls at the election for Delegates — the last election held under the Proprietary Government—and held a demonstration to indicate publicly the hostility of the people to the Proclamation. In accordance with the ancient Colonial custom, they decided to bury the despised Fee Proclamation at a mock funeral. The following description [11] has been written concerning this quaint ceremony: "To the sound of muffled drums, with the Proclamation in a coffin, with banners that bore inscriptions condemning it, with weapons of war and with a grave digger, the march was made from the polls to the gallows, where the offensive document was hanged, cut down, and buried, the ceremony being accompanied

[11] Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province.*

by a discharge of musketry." Thereupon the four Delegates-elect of Anne Arundel county—Johnson, Chase, Worthington and Hall—were instructed to thank Charles Carroll of Carrollton for his articles in behalf of the liberties of the subjects.

In accordance with this request from their constituents, the Anne Arundel Delegates wrote the following note of thanks to Mr. Carroll, indicative of the determination of the people of Maryland never to tolerate the Governor's usurpation of taxing authority;

Anne Arundel County, May 26th, 1773.

To The First Citizen:

Sir—

The freemen of Anne Arundel County, on the day of our election, gave us in charge to return you their thanks, for your nervous and masterly defence of the Constitution, against the late illegal, arbitrary and oppressive Proclamation: an exertion of prerogative which in a land of freedom will not, must not, be endured. Be assured, Sir, it gives us the sincerest joy to see your merit so generously understood and so frankly acknowledged, by men who must be confessed to have nothing in view but the general good; and we gladly execute the commands of our constituents, in thus publicly returning you their thanks, for your spirited and distinguished opposition to the Proclamation.

We are, Sir, with great respect,

Your most obedient servants,

Brice T. B. Worthington
Thomas Johnson, Jr
Samuel Chase
John Hall

As soon as the Assembly re-assembled on the 15th of June, the House once more denounced the hated Proclamation. Some of the Delegates proposed to bring the young Governor and his obdurate councillors to their senses by refusing to make needful

regulation of the tobacco industry. Calmer members, including Thomas Johnson, Samuel Chase and William Paca, opposed this method of retaliation, but on the 18th of June, the House, by a vote of twenty-four to twelve, determined to refuse to bring in the Tobacco bill. It was not long, however, before it was perceived that this hasty action was ill-advised, and five days later the House reconsidered its action and decided to appoint a committee to prepare the measure. But, at the same time, another committee was appointed to prepare a new Fee bill.

One measure after another, upon being passed by the Lower House, was killed in the Council. Even the bill for the support of the clergy—providing that every minister in Maryland, following the principle of equality adopted in Virginia, should annually be granted 32,000 pounds of tobacco, exclusive of his glebe and regardless of the size of the parish—met with disapproval and was rejected in the Upper House. The Delegates were reduced to such a state of desperation that Governor Eden deemed it best to resort again to the penalty of prorogation. Thus, on the 3d of July, 1773, after being in session scarcely over a fortnight, the Assembly, *for many important reasons,* was prorogued.

During the summer and fall of the year 1773, there was a brief respite in the controversy. The Assembly convened on the 16th of November, but adjourned, on the 23d of December, without producing any change in the situation.

The final session of the Assembly under the Proprietary Government convened on March 23, 1774. Once again there was a deadlock, and on the 19th of April the Provincial Assembly adjourned—never to meet again in the history of the Colony.

Governor Eden and his Council stood firm against the Remonstrance. Yet, while the freemen viewed the Proclamation with indignation, they hated the counsellors of the Governor far more than the young executive himself. Sir Robert seems to have been accorded, to a remarkable degree, the respect and esteem of the people of Maryland. "Easy of access, courteous to all and fascinating by his accomplishments," John V. L. McMahon

explains, "he (Governor Eden) still retained his hold upon the affections even of his opponents, who, for the qualities of his heart and the graces of his manners, were willing to forgive the personal errors of his government."

Without an Assembly to serve as a safety valve by which to exhaust their resentment, the provincials had to rely upon the press and public meetings to display their hostility to the Proclamation. One illustration of the hostile sentiment of the people on the subject of taxation in Maryland prior to the Revolution was the institution of a suit for damages, in which the plaintiff contested the tax familiarly known as the *Forty Per Poll.* It had been collected, under the provisions of a statute passed in 1702, and the imposition of the tax had for many years caused great dissatisfaction. Joseph H. Harrison, who had served as a member of the Assembly from Charles county, determined to test its legality and he refused to pay the tax. He was arrested, and when Richard Lee, Jr., the sheriff of the county, threatened to imprison him, he paid the tax under protest. Thereupon, Mr. Harrison sued the sheriff for £60 for assault and battery and for false imprisonment. His lawyers were Thomas Johnson, Samuel Chase and William Paca. Mr. Johnson's younger brother, Baker Johnson, also assisted. Sheriff Lee, through Thomas Stone, John Rogers and Cook, his attorneys, pleaded "Not Guilty" and set up, for his defense, the Act of 1702. As no aggravating circumstances, such as actual incarceration or ill treatment at the hands of the sheriff, were connected with the alleged assault, no punitive damages were asked. Indeed, the purpose of the law suit was to test the constitutionality of the tax. "Yet," says Scharf, "such was the idea which the Jury entertained of the liberty of the subject that they looked upon the sheriff's arrest and execution of the *Forty Per Poll* as an offence of the *first magnitude* against the rights of Englishmen, and brought in a verdict for the plaintiff, and gave him £60 damages, which was the whole sum in the declaration." [12]

[12] J. T. Scharf, *History of Maryland,* Vol. II, p. 127-8.

After Mr. Dulany had ceased to champion the Proclamation, there were several prominent men in the Colony, like John Hammond, who were willing to defend the cause of the Proprietary Governor. Thomas Johnson, Jr., Samuel Chase and William Paca championed the freemen's cause. They prepared a paper in reply to the great Dulany. In this masterly argument published in the *Gazette,* the trio of brilliant young patriots laid down the dictum that the freemen of the Province —not the Crown or the Proprietary—were the *ultimate source of authority.* They took the position that the people themselves, or their representatives, had, therefore, the power to pronounce final judgment on any question of government. In the opinion of Bernard C. Steiner, the Johnson-Chase-Paca reply to Daniel Dulany was superior to the argument advanced by Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Says Doctor Steiner: "The popular opinion has been that Charles Carroll had much the better of the argument with Dulany. In this opinion I do not join, though I admit most readily that in Carroll, Dulany found a worthy antagonist and that Carroll's success in arousing the people was most noteworthy, especially when we consider his religious faith. The last was by no means popular in Maryland at that time, and I regret to have to record the fact that Dulany strove in an unworthy manner to use that fact to Carroll's prejudice. My conclusion is that Dulany's arguments found their best refutation in the paper written by William Paca, Thomas Johnson, and Samuel Chase."

By this time, the controversy over Officers' Fees became overshadowed by the impending storm-cloud of the Revolution. One of the final things Mr. Johnson did in this connection was to send to his friend at Mt. Vernon in the summer of 1774—when the troubles around Boston were beginning to assume serious proportions—a copy of one of the issues of the *Maryland Gazette* containing the last "Controversial Piece" on the subject.

"I am sorry," Johnson wrote to George Washington, "to hear that your abrupt Dissolution has thrown you into diffi-

culties about Officers' Fees. We have unhappily been for some time much embarrassed about the Fees of Office here and as you may remember have had some Controversial Pieces on the subject. I preserved a paper which contains the last, no Answer having been yet given to it, and inclose it to you—as, indeed, I would all on the subject if I had them—not from any opinion the matter may not be as well handled in Virginia as with us, but from an apprehension that any thing on the subject which may tend to an investigation of the truth will at this time be agreeable to you."

Thus, throughout the Fee controversy in Maryland, both in and out of the Assembly, Thomas Johnson, Jr., played the most prominent rôle of all the patriots of that day as the champion of the liberty of the people. True, the Proclamation was never repealed. But, as Mereness well says in his *Maryland as a Proprietary Province,* "It is not improbable that the Proclamation, had the Proprietary Government continued a few years longer, would have fallen before this view as to the *Ultimate Source of Authority*; but, as it was, discontent was in a measure temporarily pacified by the revival of the old Inspection Act, without the table of fees, and then the Revolution soon followed." And, furthermore, in making the Remonstrance, the patriot leaders, chief among whom were Thomas Johnson, Jr., Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Samuel Chase and William Paca, did a valiant service in arousing the people of Maryland to a realization of the part they would have to play in resisting the oppressions of the Crown.

(*To be continued*)

MARYLAND COUNCIL OF DEFENSE

HISTORICAL DIVISION

The Historical Division of the Maryland Council of Defense is enjoying the hospitality of the Maryland Historical Society in the use of pleasant and commodious quarters on the third floor of the Society's building. The association with the Historical Society will undoubtedly prove very beneficial to the Historical Division.

The Historical Division was organized by the Maryland Council of Defense for the purpose of compiling the records of Maryland in the war, to be preserved as a permanent Maryland War History Collection. Mr. George L. Radcliffe, Recording Secretary of the Historical Society, is chairman of the Historical Division.

The scope of the undertaking of the Historical Division is very comprehensive. The records to be compiled include:

1. The "War Service Record" of every Marylander (estimated at 60,000) in the military or naval forces of the U. S. or of the Allies in the war against Germany.
2. A similar record of every Marylander in any other line of war activity, in governmental service or in any private war agency.
3. Histories and records of the special military units composed largely of Marylanders, of the important camps and other military establishments in Maryland, and of Maryland war industries.
4. Histories and records of the many non-military war agencies, governmental and private.
5. Material on topical subjects in relation to the war and its effects — financial, commercial and industrial, medical, public opinion, music, education, religion, etc.
6. Collections of photographs, trophies, and other war exhibits.

In fact, it is desired to collect any and all material in relation to Maryland in the war. Obviously, any considerable measure of success in such an undertaking can be realized only through the interest and co-operation of a great many persons. The Historical Division especially invites such co-operation on the part of the members of the Maryland Historical Society.

The roll of Marylanders who died in the service is pretty well up, but the compilation of the "War Service Records" for the general military roster has not been started. An organization in the counties of the State is now being perfected, however, for this purpose and for the historical work generally.

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"I give and bequeath to The Maryland Historical Society the sum of ..... dollars."

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MARYLAND

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THE EDRIS AND VIRGINIA BERKLEY* MEMORIAL COLLECTION OF WASHINGTON PRINTS

[The social, moral and political impression made by the "Father of His Country," not only upon his own, but upon all subsequent times down to the present, has occasioned a degree of interest in him in the public mind unequalled by any other man that has lived in ancient or present days.

As a result this popularity, and particularly from the fact that Washington Ideals constitute the highest forms of Liberty, comprehended in the ability of an individual to use his brain and brawn to the best advantage for himself and for his State, has been recognized not only in numerous portraitures from life, but also in the reproduction from these, by processes of engraving, of more likenesses of Washington than of any other man the world has ever seen: Over seven hundred copper plates are known, and to these several hundred variations are to be added, making the total list well over a thousand.

The inspiration for the present collection, now tendered as a permanent loan to the Maryland Historical Society, came from the late Richard D. Fisher, gentleman of the old school, bibliophile, litterateur, and ardent member of the Society, at a time when the writer was invalided for several months, and was looking for some indoor occupation and amusement a little out of the ordinary run, and accordingly fraught with new interests. Mr. Fisher started the collection himself by presenting me with several Washington Prints taken out of scrap-books belonging to his father, and by placing me in communication with such dealers in engravings as he knew to be reliable. Out of this modest beginning the collection gradually arose; and many Summer vacations had zest added to them hunting prints in the shops of Boston, Salem, Newburyport, Canaan, Annapolis, Philadelphia and other towns. Philadelphia and its environs were found to be a

* Of Fairfax County, Va.

truly wonderful hunter's paradise; alas, now departed like most of the good things of this life, for as the years have passed fewer and fewer prints were to be found, and eventually they almost disappeared.

However, it would seem that the writer entered the Washington print field at a propitious moment, as in comparatively a few years a considerable number were brought together. Additions were made from the auction sales, and the Mitchell, Carson and Whelan collections all have representatives in the present one. This collection is particularly fortunate in including nearly all the Maryland imprints, also in containing the beautiful quarto-sheet by Gimbrede (69), found in New Orleans in perfect condition; the Haines and the Hinton mezzotints colored in oils (120-202), the three Heath prints, known as the regular, the fake and the American (123 *et seq.*), the Savage (122), called the Frog Washington, from some fancied resemblance to the head of that amphibious animal, and so on through a considerable list. It is deficient in examples of the C. W. and James Peale, also in the Edward Birch types, and it is to be hoped that owners of single examples of these engravers not now in the collection will be induced to add them, and gradually establish a Washington Room in the building of the Historical Society, not alone for prints, but also for furniture, silverware, porcelains, and other memorials of Colonial Days.—HENRY J. BERKLEY.]

CHARLES W. PEALE TYPE

1. *Gen. Washington.* Full bust in uniform, head to left, the right hand, gloved, thrust in the breast. Circle with border upon a pyramidal base, in a rectangle to represent stonework.

   Height 5 13/16", width 3 11/16". *Line.*

   Wm. Angus Sc. Pub. Sept. 23rd, 1788, by J. Fielding, Pater Noster Row. [History of the War with America, etc., by John Andrews, London, 1785.] Baker 3.

2. *Washington at the Age of Twenty-five.* Bust in uniform. Head to right. Oval.

   Height 2 13/16", width 2 5/16". *Line.*

   J. de Mare, Sc. From a miniature on ivory presented by Washington to his niece, Harriet, and now belonging to her daughter's family. [Life of Geo. Washington, by Washington Irving, 1851.]

3. *Duplicate,* Proof. Baker 8.

4. *G. Washington in 1772, aet. 40.* Three-quarter length in the uniform of a Colonel in the Virginia Service. Vignette.

Height 5 14/16", width 3 8/16". *Stipple.*

C. W. Peale, Px. J. B. Forrest, Sc. Original in the possession of G. W. P. Custis, Esq. N. Y., G. P. Putnam and Co. [Life of George Washington, by Washington Irving. 1856-59.] Baker 11.

5. *Le General Washington, Commandant en Chef des Armées Americaines, né en Virginie en 1733.* Bust in uniform, head to right. Oval, with a border in a rectangle, resting upon a tablet, in which is a representation of the surrender at Yorktown, inscribed, "Journée mémorable du 19 Octobre 1781, a York en Virginie." Title within the border.

Height 7 13/16", width 5 8/16". *Line.*

Grave d'après le tableau de N. Piehle peint d'après Nature à Philadelphie en 1783. [Lavater's Essais sur la Physiognomie, la Haye, 1781.] Rare. Baker 14.

6. *S. E. George Washington, Général en Chef des Armées des Etats Unis de l'Amerique.* Full bust in uniform, full face, the right hand gloved, thrust in the breast. Oval with border, resting on a base in a rectangle.

Height 10 5/16", width 7". *Line.*

Le B. pinx. J. L. Sc. [Lavater's Essais sur la Physiognomie, la Haye, 1781-86.] Baker 18.

7. *Georges Washington, Esqr. Général en Chef de l'Armèe Anglo-Americaine. Nomé dictateur par le Congrès en Fevrier 1777.* Full bust in uniform and cocked hat, head to left, a drawn sword partly seen on the left. Oval with border in a rectangle, resting upon a base, the Title in a tablet upon the base.

Height 6 4/16", width 4 8/16". *Line.*

Desrais del. Le Beau Sc. A Paris chez Esnaults et Rapilly, rue St. Jaques, a la Ville de Coutances. Rare. Baker 19.

8. *George Washington.* Commandeur en Chef of y. Armies of y. United States of America. Bust in uniform, with

black neckerchief, head to left. Oval with border in a rectangle over a tablet in which is the title. Over the oval a rattlesnake and Liberty with the legend, "Don't tread on me." On the side olive and laurel branches, etc. On the flag to the right 13 stars.

Height 6 3/16", width 4 7/16". *Line.*

Engraved by W. Sharp from the original picture. Published in London according to the act of Parliament, Feb. 22d, 1780. [A poetical Epistle to his Excellency George Washington, Esquire, etc. From an inhabitant of the State of Maryland, etc. Annapolis, 1779. London: re-printed, 1780.] Very rare. Baker 35.

9. *Genl. Washington.* Bust in uniform, with black handkerchief. Head to right, vignette.

Height 2 4/16", width 2". *Stipple.*

Jas. Newton Sc. Rare. Baker 25.

10. *Washington aet. 40.* Three-quarter length in the uniform of a Colonel of the Virginia Service, a landscape background.

Height 4 11/16", width 3 13/16". *Line.*

Eng. by J. W. Paradise from a picture by J. W. Chapman after Peale. [The writings of George Washington. By Jared Sparks. Boston, 1834.] Baker 27.

11. *Washington in 1772, aet. 40.* Three-quarter length in the uniform of a Colonel in the Virginia Service.

Height 5 9/16", width 4 5/16". *Line.*

Painted by a Dickinson. Eng. by J. W. Steel [*Graham's Magazine,* 1833]. Baker 36.

12. *General Washington.* Bust in uniform, head to right. Oval, with border in a rectangle, engraved to represent stone work. Beneath the oval a tablet and the Washington arms, with the motto "Exitus Acta Probat."

Height 6", width 3 10/16". *Line.*

J. Trenchard Sc. *Columbian Magazine,* Philadelphia, Jany., 1787. Rare. Baker 37.

13. *G. Washington, General Der Noord-Americaanen.* Bust in uniform, head to left. Inclosed in a border resembling a picture frame suspended over a pedestal (in a rectangle) upon which lies a hat, baton, etc. A curtain hangs over and conceals the upper corner of the frame.

Height 5 10/16", width 3 8/16". *Line.*

Reinr. Vinkeles Sculpt. naar een origineel Schildery by den Wel. Ed. Heer P. Van Winter Nic: Z. [*Vaderlandische Historie,* Vol. 1, pg. 50. Amsterdam, 1786.] Baker 39.

14. *Washington (Georges), President de la Republique des Etats Unis D'Amerique Du Nord 1799.* Full length in uniform, standing to the right, leaning by the left hand upon a field piece. In the rear an attendant with a horse and a flag partly displayed, upon which, in a circle 13 stars. In the left distance a building with a cupola (Nassau Hall, Princeton), with some troops in the middle ground.

Height 9 11/16", width 6 6/16". *Mixed.*

Tableau du Temps. Grave par Wolfl. Dessiné par Girardet, Galerie Historique de Versailles. (Paris, 1833). Baker 40.

15. *Genl. Washington.* Bust in uniform with black handkerchief. Head to right. Vignette.

Height 4 6/16", width 3 10/16". *Stipple.*

Pub. Nov. 1st, 1784 by Whitworth and Yates, Bradford street (Birmingham). Probably a modern impression from a very old plate, the paper used is, however, of the eighteenth century. Baker 42.

16. *George Washington, Commander in Chief of the American Army.* Oval with a border upon a base, in a rectangle.

Height 5 11/16", width 3 6/16". *Line.*

Engraved for the *Universal Magazine.* Printed for J. Hinton at the Kings Arms in Paternoster Row. Baker 43.

16½. *Le General Washington. Ne Quid Detrimenti Capiat Res Publica.* Full dress in uniform. Standing to left in front of a tent, in his right hand a roll displaying sheets

inscribed "Declaration of Independence," "Treaty of Alliance, etc." His left hand gloved is thrust into the breast. Beneath his feet are various torn documents marked "Protection to Rebels," "Conciliatory Bills," etc. In the rear a negro servant with a horse, and in the extreme right distance, on the lower ground, an encampment.

Height 16 10/16", width 12 11/16". *Line.*

Peint par L. le Paon. Grave par M. le Mire. Baker 21.

CHARLES W. PEALE TYPE NOT FOUND IN BAKER

17. *Genl. Washington.* Bust in uniform, head to right, vignette. On the same sheet with a portrait of Dr. Franklin. Bust, head to left with fur cap. Vignette.

Each height 2 5/16", width 2". *Stipple.*

Very rare. Carson 69.

18. *Genl. Washington.* Bust in uniform with black neckerchief. Head one-quarter to right. Oval, surrounded by a black border.

Height 4 15/16", width 4 5/16". *Mezzotinto.*

Pub. 15th July, 1784 by Whitworth and Yates, Birmingham. Unknown to Baker or Carson, possibly a modern impression of an unused plate, though the paper is Dutch *ante* 1800. Very rare.

Similar to Carson 70 though differing in size and lettering.

19. *Washington's First Interview with Mrs. Custis.* Washington in full uniform with sword at side, holding chapeau under left arm, bowing before Mrs. Custis, who is standing on the steps of her mansion. Negro servant with white horse in the background.

Height 6 1/16" width 3 7/16". *Line.*

Drawn by F. O. C. Darley. Eng. by W. H. Ellis for *Godey's Lady's Book,* 1846.

REMBRANDT PEALE TYPE

20. *Washington.* Bust three-quarters to right. Vignette.

Height 4 3/16", width 4 6/16". *Stipple.*

Rembrandt Peale. H. B. Hall, New York, G. P. Putnam. [Life of George Washington, by Washington Irving. New York, 1856.] Baker 381.

21. *Washington.* Bust, head three-quarters to right. Vignette.

Height 4 3/16", width 4". *Line.*

Eng. by H. B. Hall, New York, 1865. After a painting by Rembrandt Peale. [Washingtoniana. Hough, Roxbury, Mass., 1865.] Baker 382.

22. *G. Washington.* Full bust, head three-quarters to right. Oval, with border surrounded by an oak wreath in a rectangle, the whole engraved to represent stone-work. A cloak or mantle hangs over the front of the oval, with a colossal antique head as keystone. Beneath the oval, the words "Patriae Pater."

Height 19", width 15 2/16". *Mezzotinto.*

Rembrandt Peale, Pinxt. Adam B. Walter, Sculpt. Published by C. N. Robinson, no. 248 Chestnut street, Philadelphia. Baker 384.

REMBRANDT PEALE LITHOGRAPHS

23. *G. Washington, Born Feb. 22nd, 1732, Died Dec. 14th, 1799.* Bust, head three-quarters to left.

Height 7 10/16", width 5 1/16". *Lithograph.*

Rembrandt Peale, Pinx. Lith. of P. Haas, Washington City, 1838. Early and most excellent specimen of the work of this early artist on stone.

24. *George Washington.*

Height 5 14/16", width 5". *Autotype.*

From the original painting by Rembrandt Peale never before engraved. E. Bierstadt, New York.

JAMES PEALE TYPE

25. *G. Washington.* Bust in uniform. Head nearly in profile to right. Vignette.

Height 3 4/16″, width 3″. *Line.*

Eng. by H. B. Hall, New York, 1865. J. Peale, Pinx, 1788. (Private plate.) Baker 111.

26. Peale Type. *Angelica Peale Crowning Washington.*

Height 4 13/16″, width 6 14/16″. *Woodcut.*

A. Bobbett. Darley, Pinx.

ROBERT E. PINE TYPE

27. *Washington.* Half length in uniform, head three-quarters to left. The right hand rests upon a walking stick. Vignette.

Height 5 8/16″, width 4″. *Stipple.*

H. B. Hall. From the original picture from life by Robert Edge Pine taken in 1785. [In possession of J. Carson Breevort, Esq., Brooklyn, N. Y. Eng. for Irving's *Washington.* New York, 1856.] Baker 98.

28. *G. Washington.* Bust in uniform, head three-quarters to left. Oval, in a frame adorned with laurel leaves, resting in a base in a rectangle. At the top of the frame "E Pluribus Unum," and beneath it an open scroll containing facsimile autographs of the signers.

Height 8 9/16″, width 6 4/16″. *Stipple.*

Painted by A. Chappel. Eng. by G. R. Hall. From the original portrait by Pine in the possession of J. Carson Breevort, Esq. (Copyright 1856.)

29. *Duplicate.*

Baker 99.

WILLIAM BIRCH TYPE

30. *Geo. Washington.* Full bust, head three-quarters to right. Oval, with narrow border, in the upper part of a rectangle. An eagle with a laurel wreath, rests upon the top of the oval, and around the sides and base are flags, laurel branches and war emblems. Over the eagle a circlet with ten stars. The title in a tablet in the rectangle.

Height 6 6/16″, width 3 13/16″. *Stipple.*

Edwin Sc. [American Artillerist's Companion, or Elements of Artillery. By Louis de Tousard. Philadelphia, 1809.] Baker 385.

31. *George Washington, Né à Bridges Creek le 22 fevrier 1732, Mort le 14 decembre 1799.* Bust, head three-quarters to right. Oval, with border, in the upper part of a rectangle, above a tablet in which is the title.

Height 5 11/16″, width 3 11/16″. *Line.*

A Paris, chez Menard & Desenne, rue Git-le-Cœur, No. 8. Baker 388.

32. *George Washington.* Full bust, head three-quarters to right. Oval.

Heigh 3 10/16″, width 3 14/16″. *Modern process.*

Reproduced in the original size from the miniature owned by the heirs of Dr. James McHenry. Copyright 1907, the Burrows Bros. Co.

MADAME DE BREHAN TYPE

33. *George Washington. Né en Virginie le 11 fevrier 1732.* Profile head to left, laureated. Circular medallion in the upper part of a rectangle. The title in a tablet.

Height 5 12/16″, width 4″. *Stipple.*

Grave après le camée peint par Madame de Bréhan, à Newyork en 1789. Dirigé par P. F. Tardieu. Grave par Roger. [Voyage dans la Haute Pennsylvania, etc. Paris, 1801.] Rare. Baker 113.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL TYPE

34. *General Washington.* Bust in uniform and cocked hat, head three-quarters to left. Oval, with border engraved to represent stone-work.

Height 4 4/16", width 3 6/16". *Line.*

Eng. for Murray's History of the American War. Printed for T. Robson, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. (London, 1782.) Baker 56.

35. *Gen. George Washington.* Full bust in uniform, head to right. Oval with a square border upon a base, in a rectangle engraved to represent stone-work. A wreath tied by a ribbon, extends from the top of the border down each side.

Height 5 9/16", width 3 7/16". *Line.*

[The History of America from its First Discovery by Columbus to the Conclusion of the late War. By William Russell, LL. D. London, 1779.]

36. *George Washington, Esqr. Général en Chef de l'Armée Anglo-Ameriquaine, nommé Dictateur par le Congrès en fevrier, 1777.* Full bust, in uniform and cocked hat, a drawn sword partly visible on the left. Oval, with border in a rectangle, ornamented with war emblems, etc.

Height 6 4/16", width 4 8/16". *Line.*

A Paris, chez Esnauts et Rapilly, rue St. Jacques, a la Ville de Coutances, A. P. D. R. Rare. Baker 58.

GUISEPPE CERACCHI TYPE

37. *Washington.* Bust, upon a pedestal, head nearly in profile to left. Vignette enclosed by a single line.

Height 3 9/16", width 2 14/16". *Stipple.*

Drawn by J. G. Chapman from the original bust by Ceracchi. Eng. by J. F. E. Prud'homme. [A Life of Washington. By James K. Paulding, New York, 1835.] Baker 167.

WILLIAM DUNLAP TYPE

38. *George Washington.* Full bust in uniform, head three-quarters to right.

Height 3 12/16″, width 2 6/16″. *Mezzotinto.*

Robin Sc. From the picture in possession of S. C. Ellis, New York. Elias Dexter, 564 Broadway, New York. Baker 73.

JEAN ANTOINE HOUDON TYPE

39. *Washington.* Profile head and bust, to right in a rectangle.

Height 5″, width 4″. *Stipple.*

Drawn by J. Wood from Houdon's bust. Eng. by Leney. Pub. by Joseph Delaplaine, Chestnut street, Philadelphia, 1814. [Delaplaine's Repository of the Lives and Portraits of Distinguished American Characters. Phila., 1815]. Sides cut close. Baker 103.

40. *Geo. Washington.* Full figure in uniform, standing upon a pedestal. Head in profile to left. The right hand rests upon the folds of a military cloak thrown over the ends of a bundle of fasces, and the left upon a walking stick. Vignette.

Height 6″, width 2 8/16″. *Stipple.*

From the statue by Houdon in the Capitol, Richmond, Va. Daguerrotyped from the statue. Geo. Parker. G. P. Putnam & Co. Baker 105.

41. *G. Washington.* Profile head and bust, to right. Vignette.

Height 2 8/16″, width 1 8/16.″ *Stipple.*

From Houdon's bust. Eng. by G. T. Storm. [Life of Washington, by Jared Sparks. Abridged by the author. Boston, 1840.] Baker 107.

42. *G. Washington.* Head in profile to left, the hair flowing and tied by a ribbon. Circular medallion. Title on the left.

Diameter 3″. *Line.*

Dessinè et gravè d'après Houdon par Alexander Tardieu. Deposé à la Bibliothèque National le 9 Vendemaire an. 9. A Paris, chez

Alex. Tardieu, Gr. de la Marine, rue de l'Université no. 296 au Depôt National de Machine. Rare. Baker 108.

43. *Georgio Washington. Svpremo Dvci Exercitvvn Adsertori Libertatis. Comitia Americana.* Profile head and bust to right. Circular medallion in a ruled rectangle.

Height 4 7/16", width 3 5/16". *Line.*

W. L. Ormsby Sc. Washingtoniana Vita. Carson 205.

44. *Georgio Washington. Svpremo Dvci Exercitvvn Adsertori Libertatis, Comitia Americana.* Profile head and bust, to right. Circular medallion.

Diameter 2 10/16".

Machine engraving. Title page of "The National Portrait Gallery," 1834. D. A. Vivier. Paris, France. Carson 206.

CHRISTIAN GULAGER TYPE

45. *George Washington.* Head and bust, three-quarters to right. Oval in a rectangle.

Height 4 10/16", width 3 13/16". *Line.*

Eng. by W. E. Marshall from a portrait by Gulligher belonging to E. Belknap, Esq. [*Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society,* 1855.] Baker 115.

GILBERT STUART TYPE

46. *Washington.* Bust, head to left. Vignette.

Height 4 12/16", width 3 8/16". *Line.*

From the original painting by Stuart, taken from life, in the possession of the Boston Athenæum. Eng. by Joseph Andrews, 1843. Baker 177.

47. *G. Washington.* Bust, head to left. Vignette.

Height 3", width 2 10/16". *Line.*

Eng. by V. Balch from a painting by Stuart. [The Presidents of the United States, their Memories and Administrations, New York, 1850.] Baker 179.

48. *G. Washington.* Full bust, head to left. Vignette.
Height 5 8/16″, width 4 8/16″. *Stipple.*
Painted by G. Stuart. Eng. by J. G. Bather, Jr. Baker 182.

49. *G. Washington.* Bust to right, head turned to the left.
Height 4 8/16″, width 3 3/16″. *Line.*
Dalla Libera Px. J. W. Bauman Set. München. Printed and pub. by A. Lange et Darmstadt. Baker 183.

50. *G. Washington.* Full bust, head to left. Vignette.
Height 5″, width 4 4/16″. *Mezzotinto.*
G. Stuart. Eng. by J. C. Buttre. Baker 188.

51. *General Washington.* Bust in uniform, head to right.
J. Chapman Sc. Pub. as the Act directs Mch. 1st, 1800. *Stipple.*
Early state of this plate. Baker 193.

52. *Georgio Washington.* Full bust to right (Lansdowne).
Height 5″, width 3 9/16″. *Line.*
Stuart px. Dall' Acqua Inc. [Storia della Guerra dell' Indipendenza degli Stati Uniti. Carlo Botta. Milano, 1809.] Baker 197.

53. *Washington.* Bust, head to left (Lansdowne). Vignette.
Height 3 8/16″, width 3″. *Etched.*
Vernier del. Lemaitre dir. Delaistre Sc. Baker 199.

54. *George Washington.* Full bust, head to right (Lansdowne).
Height 5″, width 3 11/16″. *Line.*
Stuart pinx. Dupréel Sc. Baker 205.

55. *Washington.* Full bust, head to left. Oval with arabesque border; beneath the representation of a battle (Trenton).
Height 8″, width 5 8/16″. *Stipple.*
Stuart. Edwards. London, George Virtue. Baker 207.

55. *Duplicate.*

56. ———. Bust, head to left. Oval.
Height 4 14/16", width 4 2/16".
D. Edwin fecit. Philadelphia. Pub. January 1st, 1800, by A. Dickens. [Geo. Washington to the People of the United States Announcing his Intention of Retiring from Public Life. Phila., 1800.] Also "Washingtoniana," Lancaster, 1802. Baker 209.

57. *G. Washington.* Full bust, head to left.
Height 4 11/16", width 3 2/16". *Stipple.*
D. Edwin Sc. [Life of Washington by John Marshall, Phila., 1804.] A re-engraved plate. Var. Baker 210.

58. *Geo. Washington.* Full bust, head to left.
Height 4 13/16", width 4".
D. Edwin Sc. [Life of George Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the American Forces, etc. By John Marshall. Philadelphia, 1804.] Baker 210.

59. *Washington.* Full bust, head to left. Ornamental border.
Height 8", width 5 6/16". *Stipple.*
Edwin. Phila. Pub. by Joseph Parker. Baker 211.

60. *Washington.* Full bust, head to left. Ornamental border.
Height 8", width 5 6/16".
Edwin. Eng. from Stuart's painting. Late impression.
Var. Baker 211.

61. *George Washington.* General and Commander in Chief of the American Revolutionary Army and First President of the United States. Bust, head to right. Oval.
Height 4", width 3 5/16". *Stipple.*
Edwin Sc. [An Essay on the Life of Washington, Commander-in-Chief, Etc. By Aaron Bancroft, A. A. S., Worcester, 1807].
Baker 212.

62. *Washington. "A Nation's Joy."* Full bust, head to left.
Height 2 13/16", width 2 2/16". *Stipple.*
Edwin Sc. [The Life of General George Washington. By John Kingston, Baltimore, 1813.] Cut close to margin, no lettering.
Baker 213.

63. *General George Washington.* Bust, head to right.

Height 2 10/16", width 2". *Line.*

Painted by Stuart. Eng. by William Ensom. London, pub. for the proprietor, Sept., 1822. [Walmsley's Physiognomical Portraits. London, 1824.] Baker 219.

64. *George Washington.* Half-length, head to left (Lansdowne).

Height 8 14/16", width 6 9/16". *Line.*

From the original painting by Stuart. John Tallis and Co., London. Var. Baker 222.

65. *Georgius Washington.* Bust to right, head to left.

Height 7", width 5". *Line.*

G. Longhi dis. G. G. Felsing inc. Proof without letters. Baker 223.

66. *George Washington, First President of the United States of America.* Full bust, head to left.

Height 5 8/16", width 4". *Line.*

Stuart Pinx. Fittler Sc. Engraved by John Fittler, A. R. A., from the original picture by G. Stewart in the possession of the most Noble, the Marquis of Lansdowne. London, Pub. as the Act directs, May 15th, 1804, by Richard Phillips, no. 71 St. Paul's Church Yard. [Life of George Washington, by John Marshall. London, 1804.] Baker 226.

67. *G. Washington.* Half-length, head to right.

Height 4 8/16", width 3 8/16". *Stipple.*

(The engraving of Washington by Freeman, without name of engraver.) Painted by Stuart. Baker 227.

68. *His Excellency George Washington, Lieut.-Genl. of the Armies of the United States of America.* Three-quarter length in uniform, seated. In the lower margin an eagle displayed, with shield, and motto "E Pluribus Unum."

Height 11", width 8 10/16". *Stipple.*

F. Bartoli pinx. J. Galland Sc. Baker 228.

69. ———. Full bust in uniform, head to right. The upper one of a group of portraits in ovals, in an oblong quarto sheet, of Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Madison, with a draped background. Over the Washington is a star containing thirteen lesser ones, and above it the words, "American Star."

Height 4", width 3 5/16". *Stipple.*

Whole plate, height 8 9/16", width 10 7/16".

New York, designed, engraved and published by Thomas Gimbrede, Jany. 30th, 1812. Printed by Andrew Maverick. Magnificent brilliant impression found in New Orleans. Baker 231.

70. *Genl. George Washington.* Full bust, head to left.

Height 3 10/16", width 3 1/16". *Stipple.*

Stuart px. Gimbrede sc. [The Biography of the Principal American Military and Naval Heroes. By Thomas Wilson, New York. 1817.] Baker 232.

71. *George Washington.* Full bust, head to left.

Height 7 3/16", width 6 2/16". *Stipple.*

Drawn by B. Trott. Eng. by C. Gobrecht. [Cyclopædia of Arts and Sciences. Abraham Rees. 9th Am. edit., Phila., 1821.] Baker 235.

72. *Washington, A Nation's Joy.* Bust, head to left, on left breast the Order of the Cincinnati.

Height 2 13/16", width 2 13/16". *Stipple.*

C. Gobrecht fe. [The New American Biographical Dictionary. J. Kingston, Baltimore, 1810.] Rare. Baker 234.

73. *G. Washington.* Bust, head to left. Vignette.

Height 4", width 3 8/16". *Etched.*

From the painting by Gilbert Stuart. Etched by H. B. Hall and Sons, New York. Baker 241.

74. *Washington.* Head to left. Vignette, with background ruled to a rectangle.

Height 4 8/16", width 4". *Etched.*

Etched by Alice Hall. Aet. 18, 1866. Baker 245.

75. *Washington.* Full length, standing. The Tea-pot portrait. Fully described in the print by J. R. Hills. [Cf. Baker 252.]

Mezzotint.

G. Stuart Pinx. Eng. by J. Halpin. From the original picture in the State House at Hartford, Conn. *Columbian Magazine,* 1848. Pub. by Albert Muller, New York. Baker 246.

76. *General Washington.* Full length, standing, head to left. The right arm extended as if in speaking, and a dress sword in the left hand, is held to his side. To the left, a table partly covered with a cloth, upon which an ink-stand and books; beneath the table, are also some books. To the right a little in the rear, an arm chair, and in the background two rows of pillars, between which, is a curtain partly drawn up. *Line.*

Height 18 13/16″, width 13″.

Painted by Gabriel Stuart, 1707. Eng. by James Heath, Historical Engraver to His Majesty, and to His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales. From the original picture in the collection of the Marquis of Lansdowne. Pub. Feby. 1st, 1800 by Jas. Heath, no. 42 Newman street. Messrs. Boydells, Cheapside, and G. P. Thompson, Great Newport street, London. Copyright secured in the United States according to Law. Baker 250.

77. *Genl. Washington.* Bust, head to left (Lansdowne). Oval.

Height 3 12/16″, width 3″. *Stipple.*

Eng. by J. Heath from an original picture by Stewart. Pub. Oct. 16th, 1807 by Cadell and Davies, Strand, London. [Ramsay's Life of Washington, London, 1807.] Baker 251.

78. ———. Full length, the Lansdowne portrait. The center of a quarto sheet with the portraits of the Presidents to Jackson.

Height 2 7/16″, width 1 9/16″. *Line.*

J. H. Hills, Sc. The Presidents Messages. Baker 253.

79. *Washington.* Full bust, head to left.

Height 5″, width 4″. *Stipple.*

Eng. by W. Humphries. From a picture by Gilbert Stuart in the

possession of T. B. Barclay, Esqr., of Liverpool, under the superintendence of the Society for the diffusion of Useful Knowledge. London, pub. by Charles Knight, Ludgate street. [The Gallery of Portraits with Memoirs, 1833.]

80. *George Washington.* Bust, head to right. Vignette.
Height 3″, width 2″. *Stipple.*
D. C. Johnson Sc. [The Life of George Washington, First President of the United States. Aaron Bancroft, Boston, 1826.]
Baker 266.

81. ———. Head to left. Oval with a narrow scroll border. Heading to an imperial folio sheet entitled "The Declaration of Independence and Portraits of the Presidents."
Height 3″, width 2 6/16″. *Stipple.*
Engraved and printed by Illman and Son, 603 Arch street, Phila. Ledger Carriers' Annual Greeting to their Subscribers, 1859.
Baker 264.

82. *Duplicate.* Baker 264.

83. *G. Washington.* Full bust, head to left.
Height 4 9/16″, width 3 12/16″. *Stipple.*
Painted by Stuart. Eng. by T. Kelly. Pub. by Samuel Walker, Washington street, Boston. Baker 268.

83½. *Washington at Valley Forge.* Full figure on horseback in Military Costume. Face, nearly full to left. To the right two soldiers in Continental Costume. In the background a bastion upon which stands a sentinel.
Height 18″, width 12″. *Line.*
Eng. by F. O. C. Darley. Eng. by Hinselwood. Presented to the Subscribers of the *Eclectic Magazine* [n. d.] Carson.

84. *George Washington.* Full length. The "Tea-pot portrait." Arched top. The centre of a folio sheet entitled "The Presidents of the United States" and surrounded by nine oval medallions containing portraits of Adams,

Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, J. R. Adams, Andrew Jackson, Van Buren, Harrison and Tyler.

Height 6 12/16", width 4 14/16". *Line.*

G. Stuart del. Designed by C. H. H. Billings. Eng. by D. Kimberley. Pub. by Charles A. Wakefield, no. 56 Cornhill, Boston. (1842). Baker 270.

85. *G. Washington.* Bust, head to left. Oval, with border in a rectangle. Beneath the oval upon a base, a helmet, sword and baton with oak and laurel branches.

Height 6 7/16", width 4". *Line.*

Barelet direxit. Lawson Sc. Pub. by R. Campbell and Co. From a copy painted by J. Paul. [Continuation of Hume's History, by a Society of Gentlemen. Phila., 1798.] Early impression. Baker 273.

86. *Duplicate.*

86½. *His Excellency George Washington, Lieut.-Genl. of the Armies of the United States of America.* Three-quarter length in Uniform, Sitting, the Order of the Cincinnati on the left breast. A Sword lies in the right forearm and a Chart in his hand, the left hand resting upon a part of it which is upon a table. A curtain drawn up at the right, reveals an encampment in the distance. In the lower margin an Eagle displayed, with Shield and Motto, " E Pluribus Unum."

Height 11 3/16", width 8 10/16". *Stipple.*

F. Bartoli, Pinxt. D. Edwin, Sc. Respectfully dedicated to the Lovers of their Country and firm Supporters of its Constitution. Baker 216.

87. *Washington.* Full bust, head to left.

Height 3 8/16", width 2 14/16". *Stipple.*

Stuart px. Leney Sc. Engraved for the Washington Benevolent Society, New York, 1808. [Washington's Farewell Address to the People of the United States.] Baker 275.

88. *George Washington.* Bust, head to left. Vignette.

Height 4″, width 4″. *Stipple.*

Eng. by J. B. Longacre from a miniature by Mr. Trott. [Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature. By Abraham Rees, D. D., F. R. S., 1st Am. edit., Phila., 1821.] Very fine example of Longacre's work. Baker 278.

89. *Washington.* Bust, head to left. Ornamental border.

Height 4 10/16″, width 2 12/16″. *Stipple.*

Painted by Stuart. Eng. by J. B. Longacre. [Carey's History of Virginia.] Baker 279.

90. *Duplicate* except it bears the additional lettering C. S. Williams, New Haven, Ct.

91. *Washington.* Full bust, head to left.

Height 4 4/16″, width 3 3/16″. *Stipple.*

Engraved by J. B. Longacre from a painting by Stuart. [National Portrait Gallery, Phila., 1834.] Baker 280.

92. *Washington (Georges), Né a Washington, le 11 fevrier 1732, Mort le 14th Decembre 1799.* Bust to right, head turned to left. Vignette.

Height 2 13/16″, width 2 6/16″. *Line.*

Publié par Blaisot. Baker 283.

93. *George Washington.* Full bust, head to left (Lansdowne).

Height 3 8/16″, width 2 10/16″. *Stipple.*

Gravé par Macret. Rue des Fossés le Prince, no. 18. [Vie des Georges Washington, General en Chef des Armées des Etats Unis pendant la Guerre qui à établi leur indépendance, etc., par David Ramsay. Paris, 1809.] Baker 285.

94. *Washington.* Bust, head to right. Vignette.

Height 3 4/16″, width 3 8/16″. *Line.*

Stalstich von Carl Meyer. Stuttgart, J. Scheible's Buchhandlung. Druck von Carl Meyer, Nbg. Rare. Baker 289.

95. *Washington.* Full length, the "Lansdowne portrait."
Height 5 5/16", width 3 9/16". *Line.*
Eng. by J. H. Nesmith. Pub. by Hezekiah Howe; Darrie and Peck, New Haven, Conn. [Hist. of the U. S. of America from 1763 to March, 1797. By Timothy Pitkin, New Haven, 1828.]
Baker 293.

96. *Washington.* Half length, head to left (Lansdowne).
Height 7 7/16", width 6 2/16". *Line.*
W. L. Ormsby Sc. Boston, pub. by S. Walker. Baker 296.

97. *Washington.* Half length, head to left (Lansdowne).
Height 7 7/16", width 6 2/16". *Line.*
Similar to Baker 296.

98. *Washington.* Half length, head to left (Lansdowne).
Height 7 7/16", width 6 2/16". *Line.*
W. L. Ormsby sc. Boston, pub. by S. Walker. [The History and Topography of the U. S. of America, etc. By J. Howard Hinton, A. M. 1st Am. ed., Boston, 1834.] Baker 296.

99. *Washington.* Full length, the "Lansdowne Portrait."
Height 20 2/16", width 13". *Line.*
Painted by Gilbert Stuart. Eng. on steel by W. L. Ormsby, N. Y. J. H. Reed, pub. 140 Fulton street, New York. "Presented to the subscribers of the *Family Circle* and *Parlour Annual* who pay $2.00 for two years' subscription." Baker 297.

100. *Washington.* Bust, head to left. Border resembling a picture frame, suspended by a ring.
Height 5 2/16", width 4 6/16". *Stipple.*
Eng. by Mel. Pekenino, Phila., 1822. From an original portrait by G. Stewart. Baker 300.

101. *Washington.* Full length, the "Lansdowne Portrait."
Height 20", width 13". *Line.*
Painted by Gilbert Stuart. Eng. by O. Pelton. Pub. by Gordon Bill, Springfield, Mass. Var. Baker 301.

102. *Washington.* Full length, the "Lansdowne Portrait."
Height 29", width 13". *Line.*
Painted by Gilbert Stuart. Eng. by O. Pelton. Pub. by E. R. Pelton, Office of the *Eclectic Magazine,* no. 5 Beekman street, New York. Baker 301.

103. *Geo. Washington.* Bust, head to left, rectangle surrounded by a narrow border of two lines. Civil dress. Over engraving. "Engraved for the Washington Benevolent Society." Beneath "George Washington." Very rare.
Height 3 11/16", width 3 1/16". *Stipple.*
A. Reed, sc. E. W(indsor), Con. Washington's Farewell Address to the People of the U. S. Pub. by the Washington Benevolent Society, E. Windsor Conn, and by Thos. M. Pomeroy. Evidently an earlier print than that described by Baker, but by the same engraver. Not in the Carson Collection. Var. Baker 308.

104. *G. Washington.* Full length, the "Lansdowne Portrait."
Height 19 14/16", width 13 4/16". *Mezzotinto.*
Painted by G. Stuart. Eng. by J. R. Rice. Pub. by Pohlig and Rice, Phila. Baker 309.

105. *G. Washington.* Full length, the "Lansdowne Portrait."
Height 11 3/16", width 7 10/16". *Mezzotinto.*
Eng. by E. A. Rice. Smith and Holden, Pub., 82 W. Baltimore street, Baltimore, Md. Proof before letters. Baker 310.

106. *General Washington.* Full bust, head to right. Oval.
Height 4", width 3 8/16". *Stipple.*
Eng. by W. Ridley, from an original picture in the possession of Saml. Vaughan, Esqr. *European Magazine,* pub. by J. Sewell, 32 Cornhill, April 9th, 1800. Rare. Baker 311.

107. *G. Washington.* Full length, standing, head to left, right hand on an upright book upon a table to the left. The left hand upon the hilt of a dress sword, the point on the ground. The background formed by an alcove and pillars, and in the rear, to the right, an arm chair.
Height 26 6/16", width 19 10/16". *Mezzotinto.*

P. F. Rothermel px. A. H. Ritchie sc. Pub. by R. A. Bachia and Co. (Wm. Bate, Fulton street, Chambers street, New York. (Copyright 1852). Baker 312.

108. *George Washington.* Nearly full length (Lansdowne).
Height 5 7/16", width 3 13/16". *Mixed.*
J. Rogers Sc. 381, B. W. N. Y., D. Appleton & Co. [Memoirs of Washington. By Mrs. C. M. Kirkland. New York, 1869.] Baker 316.

109. *General Washington. Born Feb. 22, 1732. Died Dec. 14, 1799.* Bust, head to left. Oval.
Height 2 10/16", width 2 2/16". *Stipple.*
Pub. by M. Carey (Scoles sc.). [The Life of George Washington with Curious Anecdotes, etc. M. L. Weems. Phila., 1808.] Rare. Baker 328.

110. *George Washington.* Bust, head to left. Oval.
Height 2 11/16", width 2 3/16". *Stipple.*
Scoles sculpt. [The Life of George Washington, First President and Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. of America. By John Corry, New York, 1809.] Not in the Carson collection. Rare. Baker 329.

111. *Genl. George Washington.* Bust, head to left. Oval.
Height 2 12/16", width 2 4/16". *Stipple.*
J. R. Smith. [Washington's Farewell Address, etc. Worcester, Mass. Printed by Isaac Sturtevant, 1813.] Rare. Baker 331.

112. *G. Washington.* Head to left, full figure standing, in military dress, holding a cane in the right hand, chapeau in left hand. To the left Mt. Vernon, in the background a landscape.
Height 22 2/16", width 17". *Mixed.*
Painted by T. Hicks, R. A. Eng. by H. Wright Smith. Var. Baker 334.

113. *George Washington, LL. D. (1790).* Bust, head to left. Oval.
Height 3 8/16", width 3". *Stipple.*
G. Stuart. R. Soper. Pub. by J. C. Buttre, N. Y. Baker 335.

114. *Washington.* Bust, head to right. Oval, in a rectangle, the title in a tablet below the oval.

Height 3 3/16", width 2 6/16". *Stipple.*

B. Tanner Sc. [Biographical Memoirs of the Illustrious General Washington. 3rd edition. Phila., R. Folwell, 1801. Pub. by J. Omerod, 11 Chestnut street.] Baker 338.

115. *George Washington.* Full bust, head to left.

Height 4 6/16", width 3 8/16". *Stipple.*

Painted by G. Stuart. Eng. by J. Thompson. Baker 342.

116. *George Washington. Inaugurated President 1789.* Bust, head to left. Vignette.

Height 2 5/16", width 2 5/16". *Stipple.*

A. Willard. [Goodrich Hist. of the U. S., Hartford. Pub. for the subscribers, 1823.] This is an earlier and much rarer print than that described by Baker, and differs slightly from it in the dimensions. Not in the Carson collection. Var Baker 352.

117. *Washington.* Bust, head to left. Circular medallion, heading to an imperial folio sheet entitled "In Congress, July 4th, 1776, the Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America," surrounded by fifteen smaller medallions, two of which contain busts of Adams and Jefferson, the others, coats of arms of the thirteen original States.

Diameter 3 6/16". *Line.*

Whole plate, height 25 4/16", width 18 4/16".

(Unlettered) Wm. Woodruff, Phila., 1819. Baker 353.

118. ———. Bust, head to left. Oval with border.

Height 4", width 3 8/16". *Line.*

Trott, del. Wright, engraver, N. Y. [Book of the Constitution. Williams, N. Y. Pub. by Peter Hill, 1833.] Baker 356.

119. *Washington.* Bust, head to left. Circular.

Diameter 3 10/16". *Stipple.*

Pub. by J. Price Jr., Philadelphia. [A new American Biographical Dictionary. Thomas Rogers, Phila., 1829.] Very early impression. Baker 365.

120. *General Washington, Late President of the United States of America.* Half length, head to left. Oval with border in a rectangle.

Height 12″, width 9 12/16″.

Mezzotinto, colored from the back in oils.

London, pub. Mch. 1st, 1801, by Haines and Son, no. 19 Rolls Bldgs., Fetter Lane. Excessively rare and unique in this state. (This portrait of Washington was for 101 years in the possession of the Orr family, near Portsmouth, N. H., and was sold by the estate in 1903. The coloring has been done by an artist of great skill.)

Baker 369.

121. *General Washington.* Full bust, head to left.

Height 5 6/16″, width 4 11/16″. *Stipple.*

London, published by Richd. Evans, 17 Paternoster Row.

Baker 373.

122. *George Washington, Esqr. Late President of the United States of America.* Full length, standing, the right hand upon a scroll upon a table to the left, inscribed "Declaration of Independence." To the right an arm chair, and in the background a curtain drawn up at the left, shows some pillars and the open sky.

Height 18″, width 13″. *Mezzotinto.*

Engraved from an original drawing by Savage. Excessively rare.

Baker 375.

STUART TYPE NOT FOUND IN BAKER

123. *Washington.* Full length, standing. (Fully described in the print by Jas. Heath, Baker 250.)

Height 20″, width 13 1/16″. *Line.*

Painted by Gabriel Stuart, 1797. Engraved by Jas. Heath, Historical Engraver to his Majesty, and to his Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales. The engravers work is much coarser than in the Heath engraving or in what is known as the "Fake Heath." It is probably the work of an American engraver, and is excessively rare. There is no lettering on it than that given above. From the Rosenthal collection. Similar to Carson 638.

124. *George Washington.* Bust, head to left. Vignette at the bottom of a large engraving entitled "The representation of Peter Francisco's Gallant Action with Nine of Tarleton's Cavalry in Sight of a Troop of Four Hundred Men, took place in Amelia County, Virginia 1781." "It is respectfully inscribed to him by James Webster and James Warrell."

Height 1 2/16", width 12/16". *Stipple in colors.*

Whole plate height 19 12/16", width 25 10/16".

Designed by Warrell, drawn by Barrelet. Edwin Sc. Pub. Dec. 1st, 1814, by Jas. Webster of the State of Pennsylvania. Edwin's largest work. Fine impression, but has been varnished.

Casron 659.

125. ———. Full length in Masonic Regalia advancing to the front of a room in a Masonic Temple leading two little orphans by the hand, at the head of a long line of orphan children. On either side, standing numerous masonic characters of all Nations, including General Lafayette.

Height 13 6/16", length 20 7/16". *Stipple.*

Stothard del. Kearney Sculp. To the Grand Lodges of the United States. This print representing the Distinguished Characteristics of Masonic Charity bestowed on proper subjects is respectfully dedicated. Pub. by T. C. Story and J. How, Phila. Copyright, Phila., Sept., 1839. An earlier print than that of the Carson Collection.

Similar to Carson 661.

126. ———. Half length, head to left. (Lansdowne.) With ruled background.

Height 6 7/16", width 4 11/16". *Stipple.*

No lettering. Carson 709.

127. *Washington Resigning His Commission.* Full length standing, head to left. (In Congress.) With arms extended toward a table on the left, upon which lies a book, inkstand, and holding in his hand a scroll. To the right portraits of several Congressmen.

Height 7", width 4 12/16". *Stipple.*

H. T. Stephens. Augustus Robin, N. Y. Carson 720.

128. *Washington.* Full length seated, head to left. The right hand resting on an upright book on a table to the left. A dress sword lying on the left arm, which is resting on the arm of a chair; in the right hand corner books. A curtain in the background is partly drawn aside and reveals pillars.

Height 7 8/16", width 5 7/16". *Mixed.*

Chappel. Johnson and Fry, N. Y. (Copyright 1863.)

Cf. Carson 714.

129. *George Washington, 1789 to 1797.* Bust to right, head to left; the centre one of sixteen oval medallions of the Presidents to Lincoln, surrounding a larger one in the centre containing the bust of Washington. The background composed of stars and olive branches, over the top an eagle and flags and underneath a flowing ribbon upon which is the inscription "The Presidents of Our Great Republic."

Height 5 10/16", width 6 14/16". *Line.*

Sold by Lange and Kronfield, 201 William street, New York.

Similar to Carson 732.

130. *Washington.* Bust, head to left. Oval medallion, the upper one of a group of five, in an ornamental border. Vignette. The others contain the portraits of Adams, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe.

Height 2", width 1 7/16". *Stipple.*

Variation of Baker 218. Carson 739.

131. *Washington.* Full bust, head to left, in an ornamented border resembling a frame, rounded at the top. In the lower portion of a sheet entitled "Washington's Farewell Address" surrounded with seven ornamented vignettes of scenes from his life, the upper one being a representation of the battle of Monmouth.

Height 3 4/16", width 2 14/16". *Stipple.*

Whole plate, height 16 12/16", width 11 14/16".

Published and engraved by J. G. Buttre, 48 Franklin street, N. Y. Border drawn by Momberger. (Copyright 1856.) Carson 759.

132. *G. Washington.* Full length in uniform on horseback with military cloak thrown over the shoulder, the left arm extended, holding a chapeau in the hand, acknowledging a salute; in the background the outlines of soldiers and cannon. Vignette.

Height 4 10/16", width 4 1/16". *Stipple.*

J. Warr. [Title page to the Drawing Room Scrap Book, 1841.] A. Hart, late Carey and Hart, Philadelphia. Carson 777.

133. ———. Full bust, head to right. Oval, upon a background covered with laurel branches and surrounded by figures of Liberty and Justice.

Height 2", width 1 10/16". *Line.*

[Ceremonies on the Completion of the Washington Monument, Washington. Washington, D. C., Jan. 14th, 1885.] Bureau of Engraving and Printing. Carson 798.

134. ———. Bust, head to left.

Height 12/16", width 13/16". *Line.*

Probably a specimen of the work of the Bureau of Engraving. Similar to Carson 808.

135. ———. Bust, head to left, oval medallion surrounded by diverging rays. On either side the bust of Washington after Houdon, in the centre the full length figure of "Washington at Dorchester Heights," on the right of which is the full length figure of Washington after the Lansdowne portrait, and to the right a full length statue of Washington, underneath a back and front view of Canova's Statue of Washington.

Height 1 6/16", width 1 2/16". *Line.*

[Memorials of Washington.] Carson 813.

STUART TYPE UNKNOWN TO BAKER OR CARSON

136. ———. Head three-quarters to right, the centre of an advertising sheet of the American Bank Note Co. of N. Y. Vignette surrounded by a wreath of laurel leaves.

Height 2", width 12/16". *Line.*

137. ———. Bust, head to left, the upper one of a group of four, Gilbert Stuart 1796, Houdon 1785, C. W. Peale 1772, Trumbull 1792. Vignette.

Height of each portrait 2 14/16", width 1 5/16". *Line.*

138. *Washington and Hamilton, First Meeting.* Washington is standing beside a white horse in full uniform, chapeau on head. Hamilton to the right in military costume holding in the hands chapeau and sword. In the foreground implements and fascines. In the background men throwing up an entrenchment.

Height 7 4/16", width 5 6/16". *Line.*

Painted by Alonzo Chappel. Eng. by Thomas Phillibrown. Martin, Johnson and Co., N. Y. (Copyright 1856.)

139. *Washington's First Interview with Mrs. Custis.* Washington and Mrs. Custis, full length standing by the fireplace of a room, the two Custis children playing on the floor. At the open door a servant holding two horses with a negro child standing beside him. The head of Washington somewhat resembles the Peale Type.

Height 4 15/16", width 6 14/16". *Mixed.*

From an original painting by Alonzo Chappel. J. Halpin, engraver. Martin, Johnson and Co., Pub., N. Y., 1856.

140. *Washington and Lafayette. Valley Forge.* Soldiers at Valley Forge around a camp-fire, Washington and Lafayette in full uniform standing on an elevation beside them.

Height 5 5/16", width 7 1/16". *Mezzotint.*

Painted by A. Chappel. Eng. by H. B. Hall. A. D. 1858, Johnson, Fry and Co.

141. *Washington Resigning His Commission at Annapolis. Dec. 29th, 1783.*

Height 6 4/16", width 6 4/16". *Lithograph.*

Painted by John Trumbull. Copyright 1900 by Elser, Boston.

142. *Washington at the Battle of Princeton.*
Height 7 5/16″, width 5 8/16″. *Line.*
Chappel px. Johnson, Fry and Co., Pub., N. Y., 1857.

143. *The Death of Washington.*
Height 4 13/16″, width 7″. *Etched.*
A. Babbet Sc.

144. ———. Bust, head to right. Oval in a rectangle ruled.
Height 3 4/16″, width 2 6/16″. *Stipple.*
[B. Tanner sc. Biographical Memoirs of the Illustrious Gen. Geo. Washington, 3rd edition, Phila., R. Folwell, 1801. Pub. by J. Omerod, 11 Chestnut street.] Extremely rare. Similar to Baker 338.

145. ———. Head to left, with white handkerchief. Vignette.
Height 8 4/16″, width 8 2/16″. *Etched.*
W. Howland Sc.

146. *Geo. Washington.* Full bust with white collar, head to left.
Height 4 10/16″, width 4 2/16″. *Stipple.*
Taken from life, 1794. Painted by Stuart. Engraved by Ilman and Bros. [The National Art Gallery, Centennial Exhibition.]

147. *Go. Washington.* Full bust, head to left. Civilian costume with white neckerchief and rosette.
Height 4 8/16″, width 4 1/16″. *Mixed.*
No lettering.

148. *Washington.* Head to right in civilian dress, the heading to a quarto sheet containing the portraits of St. Clair, Stark, Jackson, Harrison, Scott, Lafayette and Steuben.
Height 1 3/16″, width 5 1/16″. *Line.*
The ornamental borders are etched.

149. *Washington, The Prayer at Valley Forge.* Full figure of Washington kneeling under trees, the arms outstretched

with palms extended upward, sword and chapeau on the ground. Trees and a figure garbed as a Quaker in the background.

Height 4 13/16", width 3 8/16". *Line.*

J. Kyle. W. G. Armstrong. Painted by H. Quig.

150. *Duplicate of above.*

151. ———. Head three-quarters to right. Oval, surrounded by a frame of intertwined olive leaves.

Height 15/16", width 12/16". *Line.*

Somewhat resembles Tanner's work. Cut close. This portrait of Washington was found in a scrap book of the father of the late R. D. Fisher of Baltimore. The last entry in the book was 1813.

152. ———. Full length standing (the Tea-pot portrait), in the centre of a sheet with the coats of arms of the thirteen original states. Above the portrait is the representation of an eagle with outstretched wings holding a scroll in its beak, above is a figure of Liberty seated. Below the portrait are two cornucopias.

Height 2 9/16", width 1 11/16". *Line.*

Drawn and eng. by J. A. Adams, New York.

153. ———. Full bust, head slightly to left.

Height 3 4/16", width 2 4/16". *Line.*

[Continental Bank Note Co., New York.]

154. *Washington.* Full bust, head to right in a circular frame with portrait of Washington at the top. Above the frame an eagle, below a sword and two cornucopias, at the back divergent rays.

Height 1 14/16", width 1 15/16" .

Woodcut taken from on old clock, dated Philadelphia, 1814.

155. ———. *Hospitality.* Washington seated at a table with arm extended holding a tea-cup in his hand. Lady in

the dress of the period receiving the cup. In the background a fire-place, etc.

Height 4 14/16", width 3 4/16". *Line.*

G. Dallas Del. C. Burt Sc.

156. ———. Badge. The Washington Temperance Society. Printed on satin. Vignette.

Height 2 3/16", width 1 3/16". *Line.*

"We bear a Patriot's honored name
Our Country's Welfare is our aim."

157. ———. Engraved representation of Patrick's and Greenough's Statues of Washington.

Height of each 4 8/16", width 2 14/16". *Line.*

158. *Washington.* In an ornamental border of leaves, head to left. At the upper portion of the border-frame are intertwined the numerals 1813.

Height 2 3/16", width 1 8/16". *Mixed.*

Cut close, very fine engraved work, probably by Am. Bank Note Company.

159. *Washington the Surveyor.*

Height 5", width 3 14/16". *Etched.*

J. G. C. Designed and etched for Bancroft's *History of the United States.*

160. *Washington.* Head three-quarters to left. Vignette.

Height 5 12/16", width 4 2/16". *Line.*

Eng. by J. A. Lowell and Co., Boston, 1901. [Pub. for the Balto. and Ohio Ry. with view of the dome of the Capitol in Washington, D. C.]

161. *George Washington.* Head three-quarters to left in an ornamental border resembling a frame. Above an eagle with extended wings, below a shield with sixteen stars. Born Feb. 22nd, 1732; Died Dec. 14th, 1799. Vignette.

Height 1 5/16", width 1 2/16". *Line.*

Am. Sunday School Union, 1847. Rare.

162. *Washington.* Full length standing, beside a white horse. In the hand an open letter with "Washington, Victory is Ours, Paul Jones."

Height 6 2/16", width 4 2/16". *Line.*

[Copyright 1871, by Coffin and Altemus.]

ARCHIBALD ROBERTSON TYPE

163. *Geo. Washington.* Bust, head three-quarters to right. Oval, with border upon a pedestal, in a rectangle, a large open scroll in front. To the right a sword and scales, and to the left a Liberty cap, and oak branches.

Height 7", width 4". *Line.*

Grainger Sc. Pub. as the Act directs July 1st, 1794, by H. D. Symonds, Paternoster Row. [View of the American United States. W. Winterbotham. London, 1795.] Baker 163.

164. *Geo. Washington.* Bust, head three-quarters to right. Oval.

Height 3 10/16", width 2 13/16". *Line.*

W. Grainger Sc. Pub. as the Act directs July 1st, 1794, by H. D. Symonds, Paternoster Row. [View of the American United States. W. Winterbotham. London, 1795.] Baker 164.

165. *George Washington.* Bust, head three-quarters to right.

Height 3 5/16", width 2 9/16". *Stipple.*

Nach Frey gest. V. Krethlow. Zwickau b. d. Geb. Schumann, 1818. Baker 165.

WALTER ROBERTSON TYPE

166. *G. Washington. President of the United States.* Full bust in uniform, with black neckerchief, head to right. Oval.

Height 3 13/16", width 2 14/16". *Stipple.*

Rollinson Sc. Pub. by T. Reid, N. Y., 1796. [W. Winterbotham's Historical, Geographical and Philosophical View of the United States of America. 1st Am. Ed., N. Y., 1796.] Baker 172.

167. *Duplicate.*

JOHN RAMAGE TYPE

(Not in Baker or Carson)

168. ———. Bust in military uniform, head to left.
Height 2 14/16", width 2". *Etched.*
John Ramage px. Albert Rosenthal sc. Pub. by Henry T. Coates & Co., 1896. Proof one of 50 and plate destroyed.

JOHN TRUMBULL TYPE

169. *G. Washington.* Half length in uniform, head to left.
Height 4 10/16", width 3 10/16". *Mezzotinto.*
J. Bannister. Early copy, but cut close to margin. Baker 138.

170. *Washington.* Full bust in uniform, a cloak thrown around the left shoulder. Head to left.
Height 8 6/16", width 6 6/16". *Line.*
Dessiné par Couder. Gravé par Blanchard. Dedie à S. E. le Général Jackson, President des Etats-Unis d'Amerique Par Son tres respecteux admirateur le Typographe N. Bettoni. Baker 139.

171. *Washington.* Half length in uniform, head to left. Vignette.
Height 4 4/16", width 3 4/16". *Etched.*
Burt Sc. [Washington and His Generals. By J. T. Headley, N. Y., 1847.] Baker 140.

172. *Washington.* Full length in uniform.
Height 5 2/16", width 3 7/16". *Stipple.*
Eng. by A. Daggett. From the original painting by Colonel Trumbull. [History of the War of Independence of the United States of America. Botta.] New Haven, 1834. Nathan Whiting.
Var. Baker 143.

173. *George Washington.* Half length in uniform, head to left.
Height 4 8/16", width 3 10/16". *Line.*
Eng. by A. B. Durand from the full length portrait by Co. Trumbull belonging to Yale College. (Copyright 1834.) [The National Gallery of Distinguished Americans. Phila., 1834.] Baker 144.

174. *George Washington.* Bust in uniform, head to left. Vignette.

Height 4″, width 4 4/16″. *Line.*

Eng. by H. B. Hall and Sons, N. Y., from the painting by Col. Trumbull. Japan proof. Baker 149.

175. *G. Washington.* Full length in uniform standing upon an eminence, near a river.

Height 6 4/16″, width 3 3/16″. *Line.*

J. Trumbull Px. J. le Roy Scuplt. [Essais Historique etc. sur la Revolution d'Amerique Septentrionale par M. Hilliard D'Auberteul, Bruxelles, 1781.] Copy in reverse of the Valentine Green print. Baker 151.

176. *George Washington.* Full length in uniform. (Fully described in the Cheesman Print, Baker 141, but now in reverse.

Height 6 14/16″, width 4 8/16″. *Line.*

Eng. by W. E. Tucker from an original painting. [Pictorial Life of Geo. Washington. By J. Frost, Phila., 1848.] Baker 157.

177. *Gen. Washington.* (*On the Battle Field at Trenton.*) Full length in uniform, head to left, a field glass in the extended right hand, the left on a sword hilt by his side. In the rear a soldier with a horse, and in the extreme background the representation of a battle.

Height 24 3/16″, width 17 8/16″. *Mezzotinto.*

Eng. by W. Warner from the original painting by Col. John Trumbull in the possession of Yale College, New Haven. (Copyright 1845 by John Dainty.) Pub. by Wm. Smith, 706 S. Third street, Philadelphia. Baker 158.

178. *Genl. Washington.* Full length in uniform. (Cheesman print, Baker 141.)

Height 6 9/16″, width 4 9/16″.

Eng. by John Rogers from the picture by Col. Trumbull. New York, Virtue, Emmins and Co. Carson 324.

EDWARD SAVAGE TYPE

179. *Washington Family.* Washington, nearly full length sitting, with legs crossed at a table to the right, upon which is a hat with a large rosette. A chart lies upon the table and is held by the right hand; the left one rests upon the shoulder of G. W. P. Custis. To the right are Mrs. Washington and Nellie Custis. Further to the right is a negro servant. The background is formed by a curtain which is drawn to the left showing a view of the Potomac River with ships in the extreme distance.

Height 18 2/16", width 24 12/16". *Lithograph.*

Savage Pinx. Hoffy Execudit. Pub. by A. Hoffy, Phila., 1858. A close copy of the Washington Family, Baker 120, and a beautiful piece of lithographic work. Cf. Carson 275A.

179½. *Washington Family. Geo. Washington, his Lady, and her two Grandchildren, by the name of Custis.* Le Famille de Washington. George Washington Son Epouse et ses deux petits Enfants du Nom de Custis. Full figure in Military Costume, Seated to the left of the print. His right arm rests on the shoulder of the boy who is standing, while the left, is upon a chart extended on a table, to a part of which Mrs. Washington points with a fan.

Height 18 6/16", width 24 6/16". *Stipple.*

E. Savage Px. et Eng. Pub. March 10th, 1798, by E. Savage and Robt. Wilkinson, No. 58 Cornhill, London. Cut close.

Baker 120.

180. *Washington.* Bust in uniform. Head three-quarters to right. Vignette.

Height 3", width 3 4/16". *Line.*

Marckl. Del. Bertonnier Sculpt. Drouart imp. r. du Faure 11, Paris. (Differs from Baker in the lettering.) Baker 121.

181. *George Washington. President of the United States of America.* Nearly full length, sitting at a table to the right, with crossed legs.

Height 4 13/16", width 3 12/16". *Line.*

I Scoles del et sculp. Pub. by Smith, Reed and Wayland. [Winterbothams' Historical View of the United States, etc. 1st Am. Edition, N. Y., 1796.] Baker 134.

182. *George Washington. President of the United States.* Bust in uniform, head three-quarters to left. The order of the Cincinnati on the right breast.

Height 4 14/16", width 3 12/16". *Stipple.*

Savage pinxt. Rollinson Sct. [Epistles Domestic, Confidential, and Official, from General Washington, New York, 1796.] Rare. Baker 132.

183. *G. Washington.* Full bust in uniform, head three-quarters to the left. Oval.

Height 4 12/16", width 3 12/16". *Stipple.*

Savage pinx. Tanner Sc. "Engraved for the Washingtoniana." [The Washingtoniana. Baltimore, Printed and Sold by Samuel Sower, 1800.] Baker 135.

184. *Washington Family.* George Washington seated to the right of a table, upon which is spread a map, with sword resting upon it; to the left in rear Martha Washington, to the right G. W. P. Custis, in the rear Nellie Custis; in the right front corner a globe, etc.

Height 13 5/16", width 9 14/16". *Mezzotinto.*

Painted by F. B. Schell. Engraved by A. B. Walter. Published by John Dainty, 15 S. 6th street, Philadelphia. Carson 274.

185. *Washington Family.* Description similar to above.

Height 10 1/16", width 8 1/16". *Mezzotinto.*

Eng. by A. Robin, N. Y. Pub. by G. W. Massee, 1869. Similar to Carson 274.

DU SIMETIERE TYPE

186. *Washington.* Bust in uniform, head in profile to left. Circular medallion suspended by a ring over a base in a rectangle.

Height 4 15/16", width 3 7/16". *Line.*

Drawn from the life by Du Simetiere in Philadelphia. Eng. by B. L. Prevost in Paris. Baker 67.

187. *Washington.* Description similar to above.

Height 5 2/16", width 3 8/16". *Line.*

Dessiné d'après Nature par Du Simetier à Philadelphie. Gravé par Adam. [Complot d'Arnold et de Sir Henry Clinton contre les Etats-Unis d'Amerique et contre le Général Washington, Septembre 1780. Paris, 1816.] Baker 63.

188. *G. Washington. Né in Virginie Anné 1773. Commandant et Chef des Armées et President du Congrès D'Amerique.* Full bust in uniform, head in profile to left. Oval.

Height 4 2/16", width 3 5/16". *Stipple.*

F. Bonneville del. Ruotte Sculpt. Paris, rue St. Jacques no. 195. Baker 69.

189. *Duplicate.*

SILHOUETTES

190. *Washington.* Bust, profile to left.

Height 3 15/16", width 2 12/16".

From the original cut with scissors by Miss De Hart, Elizabethtown, N. J., 1783. Presented by Mrs. Washington to Mrs. Duer, daugther of Lord Stirling.

JAMES SHARPLESS TYPE

191. *G. Washington.* Full bust, head in profile to left. Vignette.

Height 3 14/16", width 4". *Stipple.*

From a portait by Sharpless presented by Washington to Col. Talmadge. Eng. by H. B. Hall and Sons for the *Magazine of American History.* Carson 892.

DE SAINT MEMIN TYPE

192. ———. Profile bust in uniform to right. Oval, surrounded by laurel branches with diverging rays; at the top a pen and sword crossed, and beneath on a ribbon " First

in War, First in Peace, First in the Hearts of his Countrymen."

Height 10/16", width 8/16". *Stipple.*

[Valedictory Address to the People of the United States. Phila., 1810.] Cut close but an early impression of this extremely rare print. This copy was found in a scrap book of the father of the late Richard D. Fisher; the last entry in the book being dated 1813. Baker 396.

193. *Washington.* Profile bust in uniform to left. Vignette.

Height 4 2/16", width 3". *Stipple.*

From the St. Memin crayon in the possession of J. Carson Brevoort, Esq. Eng. by H. B. Hall and Son, New York. Carson 910.

JOSEPH WRIGHT TYPE

194. *General Washington.* Full bust in uniform, in profile to right. Oval.

Height 3 10/16", width 2 4/16". *Line.*

T. Holloway Sculpt. *Literary Magazine.* Pub. as the Act directs 1 Aug. 1792, by C. Forster, Poultry. Rare. Baker 87.

195. *General Washington.* Full bust in uniform, in profile to right. Oval.

Height 2 1/16", width 1 8/16". *Line.*

From an original drawing. George Murray Sculpt. *Pocket Magazine.* Pub. by Harrison and Co., Oct. 1st, 1795. Rare. Baker 91.

196. *Washington as he appeared while reviewing the Continental Army on Boston Common 1776.* Bust in uniform, in profile to right. Oval medallion in the centre of a rectangle ruled with waved lines, and enclosed by a border.

Height 5 14/16", width 5". *Stipple.*

Drawn by N. Fullerton. Eng. by G. A. Smith. Boston, 1851. Baker 96.

197. *G. Washington. Born in Virginia Febry. 11th. 1732, General of the American Armies, 1775, Resigned 1783,*

President of the United States 1789. Full bust in uniform, in profile to left. Circular.

Diameter 3 9/16". *Stipple.*

Baker 97.

WILLIAMS TYPE

198. *Washington.* Half length in Masonic dress, as a Past Master, head to right. Vignette.

Height 5", width 4". *Mixed.*

O'Neill, New York. Engraved from the portrait painted from life by Williams for Alexandria Washington Lodge no. 22. Virginia, 1794. Masonic Pub. Co., N. Y. [Washington and His Masonic Compeers, by Sidney Hayden, New York, 1866.] Baker 168.

MEMORIAL DESIGNS

199. *Gen. George Washington. "Departed this Life Decr. 14th. 1799, Aet. 67. and the Tears of a Nation Watered His Grave."* Full bust in uniform, head to right. Oval, with border; in the upper half of the border, the words "Sacred to the Memory of the Brave," in the lower half, eighteen stars. The oval rests upon a base, upon which two lines

"Washington's no more, by silence grief's express'd
Lo! here he lies, his works proclaim the rest."

A medallion upon the base, contains the title, etc.

Height 4 12/16", width 4 3/16". *Stipple.*

P. Maverick, Newark, N. J. Sc. From a folio sheet containing verses, etc., engraved in script, entitled, "Eulogium, Sacred to the memory of the Illustrious George Washington, Columbia's Greatest and Successful Son, Honored be his name." Designed, written and published, by Benjamin O. Tyler, Professor of Penmanship, New York, 1815. The head is after Stuart. Baker 404.

200. *Apotheosis of Washington.* Full figure surrounded by clouds rising from a tomb, supported by Time and Immortality, the latter pointing upwards. To the left figures of

Faith, Hope and Charity. In the foreground to the right, an Indian with bowed head, and to the left, Liberty with War Emblems, at her feet. On the tomb "Sacred to the Memory of Washington, Ob. 14th. Dec. A. D. 1799, Aet. 68." I. J. Barralet, fecit.

Height 24", width 18 6/16". *Stipple.*

Philadelphia, Published by Simon Chaudron and John J. Barralet. Jany., 1802. Baker 406.

201. *Duplicate.* Impression in colors.

Drawn and engraved by J. J. Barralet, and published 22nd Feby., 1816, by B. Tanner, engraver, no. 74 S. 8th street, Philadelphia. Var. Baker 406.

202. *Wisdom supported by Liberty presenting Genl. Washington with a Code of Laws for Establishing American Independence.* Oval in a rectangle. Washington is represented in uniform seated in an armchair holding in his hands a scroll, presented to him by Wisdom, represented as a full length figure, standing to the right. In the centre between Washington and Wisdom, the full length figure of Liberty, supporting a Liberty cap on a pole; in the background, a curtain, drawn aside reveals the rays of a rising sun.

Height 12 12/16", width 9 14/16".

Mezzotinto in oil colors.

Pub. Nov. 5th, 1801, by I. Hinton, 44 Wells street, Oxford street, and P. Stampa, 91 Leather Lane, Holborn. Excessively rare. Carson 945.

203. *Sacred to the Memory of the Illustrious G. Washington.* Bust, head to right. Oval medallion with border of olive leaves, on the side of a monument over which hangs a weeping willow; underneath the oval the inscription "G. Washington," on the base of the monument "There is rest in Heaven." To the left of the monument are three figures, one of Hope, the other two weeping. The whole is enclosed in an ornamental border in a rectangle engraved to repre-

sent stonework; beneath the circle a tablet in which is the inscription.

Height 8 4/16", width 8". *Stipple.*

T. Clarke Sc. 1801. Boston. Rare. Carson 948.

204. ———. Bust, head to right, on a pedestal in front of the busts of Franklin, Hamilton, etc. in a landscape. In the front distance the figure of America supporting a shield, to left dictating to a winged figure of History; to the right, for whom a cherub is holding an ink well. An eagle to the right of the figure of America. Vignette.

Height 6 3/16", width 6". *Line.*

Birch del. Eng. by Lawson. [For Delaplaine's Repository, Rogers and Ester, printers.] Carson 955.

205. *Washington.* Bust, somewhat resembling the Stuart Type, being crowned by Liberty. The bust is on a pedestal, at the base of which is an eagle holding a shield. To the right the figure of Liberty holding a rod with a Liberty cap.

Height 1 6/16", width 1". *Line.*

Cut close, no lettering. Not in Baker or Carson.

FICTITIOUS PORTRAITS

206. *Washington Receiving a Salute on the Field of Trenton.* Full figure in uniform on horse-back, advancing to the right, a drawn sword in extended right hand. The hat resting on the forearm is held by the left hand.

Height 24", width 17 10/16". *Line.*

John Faed, R. S. A. Wm. Holl. Published exclusively for subscribers by the "National Art Association." New York, 1865. Baker 416.

207. *Washington.* Full length, in uniform, standing, head to left, a field glass in the right hand. To the left a mounted cannon, and to the right, partly in the rear, a horse led by a soldier. In the distance to the left, on the opposite bank of a river, fortifications.

Height 25 4/16", width 21". *Line.*

Eng. by Laugier, 1839. Painted by Cogniet, 1836. "The head from the original painting by G. Stuart in the Athenaeum, Boston." Baker 417.

208. *George Washington.* Full figure, in uniform and chapeau on horse-back, advancing to the left, a drawn sword in extended right hand. A palm tree in the background to the left, and some negroes and low buildings on the right. The landscape Southern in character.

Height 5 14/16", width 4". *Line.*

H. Pinas Sc. Extremely rare. Baker 421.

209. *Washington as a Mason.* Full length standing, in Masonic regalia, the right hand on an upright book (upon a table), labelled "Ancient Masonic Constitutions," the left holding a mallet upon a pedestal. Oval.

Eng. by A. B. Walter. Pub. by John McCurdy & Co., Phila. *Mezzotinto.* Baker 425.

210. ———. Full length, head to left, the right hand resting on a plough, a cocked hat in the left, sheaves of wheat at his feet, on a pedestal with a tablet inscribed, and with a representation of "Cincinnatus."

Height 8 10/16", width 6". *Line.*

Drawn by A. Chappel. Eng. by J. Smillie. [Life and Times of Washington, vol. II. Copyright 1859.] Carson 1013.

211. ———. Full length, seated in a chair on a pedestal, the right hand extended, holding a scroll, the left arm resting on the back of the chair, the hand holding a cocked hat. On either side vignette scenes in the life of Washington.

Height 9", width 6". *Line.*

Drawn by A. Chappel. Eng. by J. Smillie. [The Life and Times of Washington by J. F. Schroeder, D. D. Johnson, Fry and Co., New York. Copyright 1857.] Carson 1014.

212. *Washington at the Battle of Princeton.* Full length figure on horse-back, head to left, holding a flag in the

extended right hand; advancing from the left in front of his troops against the British.

Height 5 12/16", width 4 12/16". *Line.*

MacLenan del. J. Rogers Sc. Virtue, Emmins & Co., New York. Copyright 1866. Carson 1015.

213. *Washington Delivering His Inaugural Address, April 1789 in the Old City Hall, N. Y.* Full length in civilian dress, the right hand pointing to a scroll, on a table to the left, the left hand holding a dress sword, etc.

Height 18", width 25". *Mixed.*

Px. by T. H. Matteson. Eng. on steel by H. J. Sadd. "From the original picture painted expressly for this engraving. Pub. by John Neale, 49 Carmine street, New York, 1849." Carson 1049.

214. *Washington Passing the Delaware, the Evening Previous to the Battle of Trenton, Dec. 25th. 1776.* Full figure in uniform and cocked hat, on horse-back, to the left soldiers embarking, and about to embark; to the right officers on horse-back, etc.

Height 14 8/16", width 18 11/16". *Line.*

Painted by T. Sully. Etched by W. Humphries. Eng. by G. S. Lang. Phila., pub. by Samuel Augustus Mitchell, May 20, 1825. An earlier print than that described by Carson. Slightly torn. Carson 1030.

FICTITIOUS PORTRAITS

(Not in Baker or Carson)

215. *The Courtship of Washington.* Mrs. Washington and the two Custis children to right.

Height 15 2/16", width 22 7/16". *Line.*

Eng. by J. C. McRae, New York. (Copyright 1860.)

216. *Washington, full length on horseback in 1775, at the time of his taking Command of the Army.*

Height 7", width 5". *Line.*

Johnson, Fry and Co., Pub., N. Y. (Copyright 1858.) Rare.

217. *Washington at the Battle of Princeton.* On horse-back, a flag in the right hand urging his troops against the British.

Height 5 12/16″, width 4 12/16″. *Line.*

MacLernan del. J. Rogers sc. [Washington, A Biography, by Rufus Wilmot Griswold. New York, Virtue, Emmins and Co., 1856.]

Similar to Carson 1015, lettering different.

218. *Washington's Interview with Howe's Messenger.*

Height 5 3/16″, width 7 12/16″. *Line.*

M. A. Wageman. Joseph Stoncliffe. Virtue and Co., Pub., New York, 1861.

219. *Washington Crossing the Delaware.*

Height 4 10/16″, width 7″. *Line.*

Pub. by Martin and Johnson, New York. Painted by E. Leutze. Eng. by J. C. Buttre.

220. *Washington on His Mission to the Ohio.* Full length figure on a black horse, with guide to the right. In the distance a number of horsemen.

Height 7 4/16″, width 4 11/16″. *Line.*

From the original painting by Chappel in the possession of the publishers, Martin, Johnson and Co., New York, 1857.

221. *Washington Crossing the Allegheny River.* Representation of Washington on a raft crossing a turbulent stream. Hills in the distance.

Height 5 3/16″, width 6 10/16″. *Line.*

Ptd. by D. Huntington. Eng. by D. Kimberley.

222. *Washington Taking Command of the Army at Cambridge, 1775.* Full figure on horse-back, surrounded by his staff.

Height 4 8/16″, width 7 7/16″. *Line.*

Wageman px. J. Rogers sc. Virtue and Co., Pub., New York.

223. *Washington at the Battle of Monongahela.* Vignette.

Height 3″, width 3 8/16″. *Line.*

Groome. Tucker.

224. ———. Full length in uniform with sword in left hand, in the right hand an open letter, with Geo. Washington at the headline and signed by Hancock. Washington is standing on a pavement, in the background a column with partly drawn curtain, behind it and in the distance a landscape showing stacked arms, an American flag, and in the extreme distance a mansion resembling Mt. Vernon.

Height 4 13/16", width 3 3/16". *Lithograph.*

Houdon. On the same sheet a similar engraving, which has the Stuart head, but has no lettering. Two curious and rare lithographs. Both are of similar design, but with heads of dissimilar types. The one resembles Stuart, the other though lettered Houdon resembles Savage. Lith by E. Weber & Co., Baltimore.

225. *Washington's Retreat at Long Island.*

Height 4 2/16", width 7 4/16". *Line.*

Wageman. J. C. Armytage. Virtue and Co., Pub., N. Y., 1860.

226. *The American Eagle Guarding the Spirit of Washington.* Circular medallion in a ruled rectangle, with the outline of Washington's head lying on clouds, with figure of an eagle to the right.

Height 9", width 7 12/16". *Line.*

Thom. Rogers. Dedicated to the Mt. Vernon Association by the Cosmopolitan Association.

227. *Washington Raising the British Flag at Fort du Quesne.*

Height 4 15/16", width 7 8/16". *Line.*

J. R. Chapin. T. B. Smith. Virtue, Emmins and Co., New York, 1859.

228. *Washington and Family at Mt. Vernon.* Full length on horse-back, with negro servant at side of horse. Mrs. Washington is standing by a pillar on the portico, the two Custis children are playing on the steps.

Height 5 10/16", width 7 8/16". *Line.*

Painted by Chappel. Eng. by Phillibrown. Johnson, Fry and Co., Pub., New York 1858.

229. *Washington and Lafayette at Valley Forge.*

Height 5 5/16″, width 7 6/16″. *Line.*

Painted by A. Chappel. Eng. by H. B. Hall. Johnson, Fry and Co., New York, 1855.

230. *Washington and His Mother.* Full figure in uniform seated to the left of a table, conversing with his mother, who is seated to the right.

Height 15″, width 21″. *Mixed.*

Px. by H. Brueckner. Eng. by John McRae. Pub. by John McRae, New York. Cut close to margin.

231. *Washington's Benevolence.* Full figure seated at a table writing.

Eng. especially for *Godey's Ladies' Book* by J. Gross, 1846. *Mezzotinto.*

MARTHA WASHINGTON PRINTS

232. *Martha Washington.* Full bust, head to the right

Height 6″, width 4 10/16″. *Line.*

Painted by Jalibert. Eng. by W. Wellstood. Eng. expressly for the *Ladies' Repository.*

Martha Washington.

Height 2 9/16″, width 2 8/16″. *Stipple.*

Painted by G. Stuart.

233. *Martha Washington.*

Height 7 5/16″, width 5 5/16″. *Line.*

From the original painting by Chappel in the possession of the publishers. Johnson, Fry and Co., New York. (Copyright, 1872.)

234. *Mrs. Martha Washington.*

Height 4 4/16″, width 3 7/16″. *Stipple.*

Engraved by J. B. Longacre from an original miniature by Robbertson in the possession of G. W. P. Custis, Esq. [National Portrait Gallery, 1834.]

235. *Martha Washington in Her Early Days.*
Height 7 1/16", width 5 10/16". *Line.*
From the original by Alonzo Chappel in the possession of the publishers, Johnson, Fry and Co., New York. (Copyright, 1857.)

Bushrod Washington.
Height 5 14/16", width 4". *Line.*
Etched by Albert Rosenthal, 1891.

236. *Dr. James Craik, Washington's Physician.* Head in Profile to right. *Woodcut.*

VIEWS OF MT. VERNON AND WASHINGTON CITY

237. *Washington City.*
Height 5 5/16", width 7 14/16". *Line.*
Drawn by J. R. Smith. Eng. by J. H. Neagle.

238. *Tomb of Washington.*
Height 4 14/16", width 8". *Line.*
Washington Head, del. Lith. by P. Hass, Washington (1834).

239. *N. W. View of the Mansion of George Washington, Mt. Vernon.*
Height 5 12/16", width 10 5/16". *Lithograph.*
G. Washington Head del. Lith. by P. Hass, Washington City.

240. *The President's Home from the River.*
Height 4 14/16", width 7 1/16". *Line.*
W. H. Bartlett, Del. W. Radclyffe, Sc.

241. *Duplicate.*

242. *The Front of Mt. Vernon.*
Height 6", width 5". *Line.*
H. H. Billings, after Bartlett. E. Gallaudet Sc. New York, Leavitt, Traw and Co. (The Gem of the Season). W. L. Ormsby, Printer.

243. *Washington's House, Mt. Vernon.*
Height 4 13/16", width 7 7/16". *Line.*
W. H. Bartlett. J. N. Wellmore.

244. *The Tomb of Washington, Mt. Vernon.*
Height 2", width 2 14/16". *Line.*
Duthie. New York, J. Putnam.

245. *Birds Eye View of Washington City.*
Height 5", width 7 4/16".
J. Wells, New York. J. C. Armytage.

246. *The Tomb of Washington at Mt. Vernon.*
Height 7 4/16", width 4 11/16".
W. H. Bartlett. A. Cousens.

247. *The Birthplace of Washington.*
Height 7 4/16", width 4 4/16". *Line.*
Ptd. by J. G. Chapman. Eng. by Rawdon Wright. Hatch and Smillie. *Columbian Magazine.*

248. *The Birthplace of Washington.*
Height 7 4/16", width 5". *Line.*
Painted by B. G. Chapman. Eng. by Rawdon. Wright, Hatch and Smillie. A Book of Surveys, July 22nd, 1749.

249. *Fac-simile Writing.* Copied from a manuscript in the handwriting of Washington aet 17.
C. W. Boynton Sc.

250. *General Washington.* Gold watch and seal. The watch has the lettering I. E. Pine. Manufact. Paris. The eng. of the seal has the lettering "Exitus Acta Probat."

251. *General Washington's Carriage* (as it appeared in the procession of the United Order of American Mechanics in N. Y. Feb. 22nd. 1872, on the 140th. Birthday of the Father of His Country.
Width 9 15/16", height 5 11/16". *Lithograph.*
Beneath is the coat of arms of the Washington family. Pub. by A. C. Crane, Boston, Mass.

252. *Duplicate.*

253. *General Washington's Carriage.*
Width 3 8/16", height 1 12/16".

254. *Washington's Book Plate.*

Washington's Visiting Card. *Etched.*

WASHINGTON BOOKS MAINLY WITH ENGRAVINGS

Mount Vernon, A Poem, being the Seat of his Excellency *George Washington,* in the State of Virginia; Lieut. General and Commander in Chief of the Land Forces of the United States of America.

"This rural, romantic and descriptive poem of the seat of so great a character it is hoped may please." "With a copper plate likeness of the General." "It was taken from an actual view on the spot by the author, 15th May, 1799." "By John Searson, formerly of Philadelphia, Merchant." Philadelphia, Printed for the Author by Folwell. Frontispiece, George Washington, Esqr., by Savage. Very rare.
Carson 271.

The Illustrated Life of Washington. Giving an account of his early adventures, enterprises, etc., with vivid paintings of Battles and Incidents, Trials and Triumphs of the Heroes and Soldiers of Revolutionary Times.

By J. T. Headley; together with an interesting account of Mount Vernon as it is by Benson J. Lossing. New York: Published by J. G. & F. Bell, 1859. Frontispiece, a woodcut of Washington.

The Life of George Washington, with Curious Anecdotes equally Honorable to Himself and Exemplary to His Young Countrymen. Embellished with six engravings.

By M. L. Weems, formerly rector of Mount Vernon Parish. Philadelphia: Published by Joseph Allen, and sold by J. Grigg, No. 9 N. Fourth Street, 1831. Frontispiece of Washington.

The Life of Washington, with curious anecdotes equally Honorable to Himself and Exemplary to His Young Coun-

trymen. Twenty-ninth edition, greatly improved and embellished with eight engravings.

By M. L. Weems, formerly rector of Mount Vernon Parish. Frankford, near Philadelphia: Published by Joseph Allen, 1826. Frontispiece of George Washington.

History of the War of Independence of the United States of America.

By Charles Botta. Trans. from the Italian by Geo. Alex. Otis. Ninth Edit. in II Vols. Cooperstown, N. J.: Published by H. and E. Phinney, 1847. Frontispiece of Washington by Daggett after Trumbull.

Facsimiles of Letters from his Excellency George Washington, President of the United States of America to Sir John Sinclair, Bart., M. P., on Agriculture and other Interesting Topics.

Engraved from the original letters, so as to be an exact facsimile of the handwriting. Washington, D. C.: Published by Franklin Knight, 1844. 1st Edit. Frontispiece, Washington. Full bust, head to left. Vignette.

Height 4 8/16″, width 4″. *Stipple.*

Eng. by J. Sartain, 1844. This is an earlier plate than that described by Baker, his plate having been published with the Second Edition, 1847. From the Crim Sale. Rare. Var. Baker 22.

The Life of Washington, by Jared Sparks. Published by Tappan and Dennet, Boston, 1843.

Illustrated by numerous maps and engravings, including the portraits of Martha Washington by Kellog, and George Washington by Paradise.

Frontispiece of Washington by Durand.

Leavey's Sketches. The Declaration of Independence.

Frontispiece of Washington by Storm.

History of North America, Comprising a Geographical and Statistical Review of the United States and the British Canadian Possessions, etc., in II Vols.

Printed by Davies and Co., No. 48 Vicar Lane, Leeds, 1820. Frontispiece, General Washington.

Height 4 6/16″, width 3 4/16″.

Painted by Stuart. Eng. by S. Topham. Baker 346.

Lebensverschreibung des Georg. Washington, mit merkwürdiger Anecdoten begleitet. Von M. L. Weems, Ehemaliger Prediger der Mt. Vernon Kirche.

Height 3 9/16″, width 2 14/16″.

Philadelphia, Gedruckt und verlegt von Edward T. Schelly, 1838. Frontispiece a crude woodcut of General Washington.

The History and Topography of the United States, by John Howard Hinton, assisted by Several Literary Gentlemen in America and England.

Height 7 7/16″, width 6 2/16″.

Illustrated with a series of views. A new Edit. with corrections and additions by Samuel L. Knapp (in II vols.). Printed and published by Samuel Walker, Boston, 1834. Frontispiece, Washington, by Ormsby. Baker 296.

Memoirs of Washington by Mrs. C. M. Kirkland, with illustrations.

New York, D. Appleton and Co., 346 Broadway; London, 16 Little Britain, 1857.

The Diary of George Washington from 1789 to 1791; Embracing the opening of the First Congress, and his Tours through New England, Long Island and the Southern States, together with His Journal of a Tour to the Ohio in 1753.

Edited by Benson J. Lossing. New York, Charles B. Richardson & Co., MDCCCLX.

A Political History of the United States of America from the year 1763 to the close of the Administration of President Washington in March, 1797. Vol. I.

By Timothy Pitkin, published by Hezekiah Howe, Dunie and Pick, New Haven, 1828.

Washington's Farewell Address to the People of the United States.

Printed by John L. Cook, Baltimore, 1810.

Washington's Farewell Address to the People of the United States.

Published for the Washington Benevolent Society. Windsor (Vt.). Printed and sold by Thomas M. Ponnoy, 1812, with the Constitution of the United States as an addenda.

Message of the President of the United States to Congress relative to France and Great Britain. Delivered Dec. 5, 1793, with the papers therein referred to. (Published by order of the House of Representatives.)

Philadelphia, Printed by Matthew Cary, No. 118 Market St., Oct. 24, 1795.

The Washingtoniana, containing a Sketch of the Life and Death of the late Gen. George Washington, with a collection of Elegant Eulogies, Orations, Poems, etc., Sacred to his Memory; also an Appendix comprising all the most valuable Public Papers, and his Last Will and Testament.

Lancaster (Pa.). Printed and sold by William Hamilton, Franklin Head in West King St., 1802.

Official Letters to the Honorable American Congress written during the War between the United States and Great Britain by his Excellency George Washington, Commander in Chief of the Continental Forces, now President of the United States.

Copied by special permission from the original papers in the office of the Secretary of State, Philadelphia. New York, Printed and sold by James Rivington, No. 156, and Samuel Campbell, No. 124 Pearl Street, MDCCXCVI., II Vols.

Biographical Memoirs of the Illustrious Genl. George Washington, Late President of the United States of America, etc., etc.; containing a History of the Principal Events of his Life, etc.; also a Sketch of his Private Life.

Third Edit., enlarged. From the press of Richard Folwell, Philadelphia, 1801.

Life of George Washington, Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States of America, throughout the War which Established their Independence, and First President of the United States.

By James Ramsay, M. D. Fourth Edit. Six engravings. Baltimore, Published by Joseph Cushing, Benjamin Edes, printer, 1815. Frontispiece, Washington. "Firm as the Surge Repelling Rock."

A NOTICE OF SOME OF THE FIRST BUILDINGS WITH NOTES OF SOME OF THE EARLY RESIDENTS

By Mrs. Rebecca Key.

II

Annapolis at my first recollection.

[The notes herewith presented have been in the possession of the collaborator since 1905, at which time it was deemed desirable to obtain some information as to Richard Harrison,* of Anne Arundell County, who died in 1761, and was the subject of some interesting correspondence between Cecilius Calvert in London, and Governor Horatio Sharpe, of this Province. As there was at that time no sufficient evidence of connection with the Harrison family furnished in the sketch, and no clue as to the identity of the writer, it was thought well to hold it for more definite authentication.

Through the courtesy of Robert Garrett, Esq., the Harrison papers lately

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* Cecilius Calvert to Governor Sharpe.

"Mr. Harrison whom I've mentioned afore is represented by all here as a gentleman of good character and has been serviceable in the late proprietor's affairs in elections and is desirous to show his Interest in regard to the present Lord and you in contributing all in his power to your ease and satisfaction in Government. So soon as it is in your power, I hope you will give him testimony of your friendship. It will be agreeable to my Lord and I shall esteem it an obligation. His wife is a relation to our family."

placed in his possession have made it possible to establish the necessary historical connection and to afford these unique glimpses of bye-gone days.

Mrs. Rehecca Campbell Key, the writer of these "notes," was a resident of Annapolis during her long and interesting life. Born in 1754, the daughter of John Camphell II, and Frances Hammond, her paternal grandfather, John Campbell I, is registered as a Scotsman and Planter, who arrived in the Province of Maryland after the uprising of the /15 and whose will is probated in 1735. Her father, John Campbell II, appears as a vestryman of St. Anne's Parish, 1767-69, and occupied various positions of trust in the days preceding the Revolution. In his will, prohated in 1777, he mentions his daughter Rehecca Key.

She had married an Englishman, Rohert Key, architect, who also appears in the annals of St. Anne's Parish as sharing the fortunes of Church and State, especially those of the church, in its most critical period of dilapidation to its temporary abandonment in those troublous times.

The gentlemen of the Vestry, having leased from Mr. Douglas, the manager of the theatrical performances for which Annapolis was far-famed, the ground on which the Play House was built, Rohert Key, with John Hesselius, is instructed "to take down the organ, pack same in proper boxes as the Reverend Rector, Mr. Lendrum, and Vestry agree that in the ruined condition of the Church building, the Play House be fitted up for a Place of divine Worship and that the clerk erect a pulpit therein."

Mrs. Rehecca Key, however, became after the death of Mr. Key, an ardent convert to the Roman Catholic Faith, as shown by a note written to one of the Ministers of the day arraigning him for statements made from his pulpit as to the errors "of that Church of which I have the happiness to be a memher." The correspondence is quite interesting as showing the controversial spirit of the times.

She lived until the year 1840, and before her death gave her wedding ring to Mary Harrison, at whose death in 1857 it passed to Rebecca Harrison called for Mrs. Key. Letters written to her show in the phrasing of their old-fashioned courtesy the esteem and affection in which she was held.

Her "notes" were evidently dictated in her later years to someone not conversant with the Chronicles of the Center of Government, the Court Circle and the faithful if miniature reproduction the Mother Country found in the Annapolis of that day.

It is greatly to he regretted that this paper, numhered II, ending so abruptly, seems to he one of a series of which no other traces have been found, and it is hoped that its publication may attract the attention of someone who can throw light upon records which we can ill afford to lose.

ANNIE LEAKIN SIOUSSAT.

The size of Annapolis at my first recollection was apparently as large as it is now.

Among the early buildings stood some old and ruinous ones near where the present Episcopal parsonage [1] now stands occupying the corner as well as the middle of the lot. Among these some were large as if inhabited by people of some condition. All were built of wood, as were also a range opposite where the ball-room now stands; these were all said to have belonged to the Neutral French.[2] They remained in a ruinous condition until considered a nuisance and were destroyed soon after Gov. Eden came into the Province.

City Hotel. Dulanies.—The present City Hotel was then standing; it was the property of a widow Dulany and was inherited by her son Lloyd Dulany, from whom it was confiscated,[3] and it has since, I think, always been occupied as a hotel.

Lloyd Dulany went to England where a quarrel which had begun in America between himself and a Parson Allen, terminated in a duel, in which he was killed. He left an interesting young widow whose case being presented to Queen Charlotte, she settled upon her three hundred pounds sterling a year. She afterwards married the cousin of her husband Walter Dulany whose estates in America were also confiscated.

Government House.—The original Government House, the

[1] Vestry Proceedings of St. Anne's Parish, page 17. "All that lot of land . . . lying on the south and west of Hanover street and distinguished on plot by letter K, conveyed by Phillip Key and Theodosia, his wife (formerly widow of Reverend John Humphries), in 1759. The Rectory was in use until within a few years ago.

[2] Nine Hundred and Three of these unfortunates arrived in Annapolis December 9th, 1755, and, said Daniel Dulany: "have almost eat us up." Governor Eden came in 1769 (June 5) and left the Province in June, 1776. The sojourn of the French seems not to have been so permanent nor their quarters so substantial as in other places; some of their buildings having been in good preservation in Baltimore so late as 1824 and after.

[3] The Dulany estates were confiscated, but were partially restored to the three daughters of Walter Dulany, Mary Fitzhugh, Margaret Montgomery, and Katherine Belt, who remained in the Province and received from the Government, 400 acres each in what was anciently known as the Valley of Jehosaphat, now known as Dulany's Valley. Their tract was known as Epping, the reproduction from the English Epping Forest.

central part of the present one, was built by a Squire Jennings [4] and sold to the Proprietary Government; it must be more than a century old. My mother recollected when in her childhood it was occupied by S. Jennings. It was afterwards always used as a residence for the Governor and received the additional buildings in the time of Governor Eden. It was confiscated during the Revolutionary War and made the residence of the Republican Governor from that period.

Garrison. The Du Laneys.—The central building in the garrison was built by the same architect Mr. Duff, who came from England to commence a new Government House where St. John's College now stands and was his property until it was purchased by a Dulaney. It was occupied by a Dulany until the Revolutionary War. The mother of W. and D. Dulany, an excellent lady, died in it. It was confiscated and the sons went to Europe.

Walter Dulany and Grafton Dulany, sons of Walter, all went to Europe. Grafton had a commission in the British Army and died in Jamaica from being overheated in dancing. The youngest of three daughters of the same Walter married a parson Montgomery [5] who afterward absconded and went to England where he was well received, had a parish given him and was admired for his talents at preaching. He was called "The Beauty of Holiness" from his interesting appearance. The second daughter married a Fitzhugh and settled in Baltimore County and died there. The eldest married a Mr. Addison of Oxen Hill upon the Potomac, ancestor of the family who now live in Georgetown. (My great grandmother was wife

[4] *Edmund Jennings.*

[5] The Reverend John Montgomery, rector of St. Anne's, married Margaret Dulany and departed to England early in the day. Their home in London was one of the centers of hospitality for the Maryland Loyalists, from which point he wrote to his mother-in-law, Mrs. Walter Dulany, "We have found an acquaintance here both male and female eminently respectable and our situation is far from uncomfortable." It is said that his unsually elegant deportment tempted Thackeray to use him as his study for the Reverend Mr. Honeyman.

to the Mr. Duff [6] who first occupied that building and she there breathed her last.)

College. Parties.—Mr. Duff, architect, came from Scotland at the instance of Cecilius Calvert (but I am not sure). He brought with him a plan of building of the Provincial Government House, an Act of Assembly having granted the land whereon St. John's College now stands. Under his direction the walls of the present main building were erected, joists laid and scaffolding prepared for roofing it in. The original design was to have had wings—united by a colonnade of pillars on each side—but in consequence of a difference betwen the two parties it was never executed. There were always two parties, the one called themselves the Country Party, the other was called the Court Party, and a large quantity of white marble was imported to finish off this building in handsome style. Small slabs for paving the Hall beautifully white and pure and black also—large fine slabs for the steps, etc. They were taken to the building—some were in the cellar and others piled on the outside. When the Country party, who were taxed to supply all these things in common with the other party, would not permit the building to proceed, declaring that the Province would be ruined, and that not another nail should be driven. The Court party argued that they had funds in England which might be drawn upon, but they would not permit them to be touched, and the building was left in that condition. The fine marbles were at the disposal of whoever chose to appropriate them and were consequently scattered about in various directions, the chimney pieces and hearths were of very superior quality and nobody knew what ever became of them. During the encampment of the French on the Green in the Revolutionary War, an officer of that Army expressed his surprise at seeing a much finer building than any most in the city, apparently in

[6] Simon Duff was certainly in the colony before 1728, as at that date he was one of a Committee of the Parishioners to petition the Vestry to allow the improvement and extension of St. Anne's Church previously ordered by them to proceed. He died according to the Harrison papers in 1759.

ruins ere it had been finished, and on being told the cause it is said, shrugged his shoulders and said: "the folly was not entirely monopolized by the Court party." [7] After the Revolution it was taken possession of and appropriated to literary purposes and now stands as St. John's College.

Old Court House, now State House.—The old Court House [8] stood where the State House now stands. It was a very neat little brick building, but might have been enclosed in the walls of the present State House. An oblong square in form, the entrance a hall opposite which, two or three steps from the floor, was the judges' seat, and on each side were apartments used as jury rooms. Over the judge's seat was a full length picture of Queen Anne presenting the Charter, which was presented at full length. On the upper floor were three apartments, the two largest were used for the Upper and Lower House of Assembly and the other was the apartment for the mace-bearer and the other officers depending thereon. A handsome cupola surmounted the building, surrounded by a bannister and furnished with seats for those who chose to enjoy the prospect. This building was surrounded by a palisade within which the troops used to parade; and at the time of the proclamation of the peace between the Colonies and the French after what was called the Old French War, the windows were filled with ladies to witness the rejoicings; but on other occasions they were not seen there. It was pulled down not because ruinous but because a larger building was needed, being defective in Council Chamber and other conveniences.

Parties.—Jennings, a young Englishman, having committed at home some wild prank which made it admissible for him to leave the country for a while, fixed in Annapolis, and being young and of fine talents he associated with young men, students of the bar, among who was Samuel Chase, then very young. These young students stood perusing the charter which Queen

[7] The forlorn ruin herein alluded to has always been known as "Bladen's Folly."

[8] Built 1704-06. Cf. *Ridgely's Annals*, p. 106.

Anne held in her hand in the Court House, found that it was violated in almost every particular by those in authority, and being of frolicsome character they had a very neat little walnut wood coffin in which they laid a copy of the violated charter. Upon it was written a very witty epitaph stating its death and burial. This was found at the foot of the full length portrait of Queen Anne and a great excitement and much mirth attended the general turnout of the citizens to see it. From this circumstance arose a long quarrel betwen the citizens who thus found themselves imposed on by those in authority, which resulted in a triumph for the Country party who again had their rights conferred upon them by the Charter committed to their keeping. The Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council were once more in the gift of the people.

My father was one of the first chosen Aldermen on this occasion. (Jennings made a fortune in Frederick and afterwards returned to Annapolis.)

The two parties were always at varianec and very busy in newspaper controversies. A man, just before the Revolution, seeking to recommend himself to the people assured them on one occasion that they might rest assured " that he would always be plump against the Government." He was much plagued about this saying. The picture of Queen Anne was destroyed during the war.

Free School.—The Free School stood on the south side of the State House, a plain building containing school rooms and a habitation for the teacher and his family. The Fund was supplied by Great Britain, the number of charity scholars not known, but some were educated on the foundation among the last of which was William Pinckney, the orator. It supported two masters who had been sent from England and at the Revolution returned to their native country.

Armory.—The Armory stood at the north side at an equal distance from the Court House, a large hall, the walls covered with arms above the seats which were all around the room. A seat opposite the door for the Governor and his lady over which

hung a full length portrait of Queen Anne. Nearly opposite to this picture hung another, a full length portrait of the Proprietor, Lord Baltimore, in his flowing robes.[9] Being used for a ballroom as well as an armory, a wooden gilt chandelier depended from the vaulted roof and the lights interspersed among the arms, gave it on ball nights a very splendid appearance. Three other apartments were appropriated one to the card parties, one to the supper, and the other to the armorer. The Armory was also used as a Council Chamber when the Assembly sat.[10]

Other Buildings.—There were also a stack of old buildings below Mr. Green's near where Mr. Henshaw has lately built, called Calvert's Old Buildings, and were in sufficiently good repair to be used as exhibition rooms by Mr. Peale within my recollection. The old Market House stood just below the present Gun House, it was about half the size of our present market house, but very commodious. The Church was enclosed by palisades and white railing and the yard was the grave-yard of Annapolis.

Episcopal Church.—Apparently co-eval with these was the old Church on the site of the Episcopal Church. The only one in the place originally, it was in the form of a T, a part added to it made it in the form of a cross. It was neatly finished inside, the principal entrance to the east; it was in a ruinous condition previous to the Revolution and the last minister often remonstrated with his congregation but did not prevail until the building of the Hallam Theatre; he published a little poem in the *Gazette* which had a better effect than all his previous

[9] In the correspondence of Governor Sharpe, Volume 3, page 273, 23rd of February, 1766, Frederick Lord Baltimore writes: "I have embarked by this occasion a whole length portrait of myself, Putt it up with those other portraits of my ancestors you have in the Province and inform me of whom they are. I have also sent some arms well painted which you will place in the Council Chamber, or wherever you think fitt."

[10] Cf. Ridgely, 107. It is apparent from the similarity of this and another paragraph, that Mr. Ridgely had access to these notes or referred to Mrs. Key when speaking "within the memory of persons now living."

labor. The old church was torn down, but the Revolution breaking out just then nothing further was attempted, and the Theatre was used as a church, forum and whatever else convenience dictated.

The Hallam Theatre stood above the bank, built of brick. (A note here in the copy says "uncertain.") It was afterward used for a school. The place was occupied as a residence standing on the brow of a hill, between the Court House and the Creek was the carriage house of Daniel Dulany. This building was similar to the original building of the City Hotel belonging to Lloyd Dulany and was called the "White House." On the hill overlooking the creek and nearly opposite the residence of P. Clayton stood a large building similarly constructed, the residence of the Tascar family. Both these buildings were burned to the ground, the latter was purchased by Mr. Charles Wallace and modernized. It has been burnt within the last ten years. The house appropriated to the Cashier of the Farmers' Bank was, during my early recollection, used as a tavern. It was occupied by William Reynolds. The small building on ———— Street belonging to the bank was once endeavored to be converted into a stocking manufactory but it did not succeed. My father took me to see the looms which were considered to be quite a curiosity at that time.

The building occupied by Mrs. Anne Harwood is one of the most ancient in the city. It was originally the printing office of the *Gazette*. The same paper has been under the same title in the same family, edited and established by Jonas Green, a New Englander, an ancestor of the present proprietor.

The building now owned by Gustavus Barber, commanding a fine view of Annapolis Harbor was always the property of the Protestant head of the Carroll family.[11] The house occupied by Charles Carroll is of more modern date and built for a family residence. An upper room of this house was used as a *Catholic Chapel* during his residence and afterward till this chapel was built. The priest had a room in his house—there

[11] Charles Carroll, Barrister.

was once a resident priest in the family but not for a few years previous to Mr. Carroll's removal. The building next to the priests' present room was one among a room known as MacNamara's buildings; they were in possession of the Carroll family until the ground was given for the present Catholic Chapel.

The buildings occupied by Dr. Ridout were erected by John Ridout, Secretary to Gov. Sharpe. There was a building on the hill, still known as Powder House Hill, in which powder was kept.

The house now occupied by Mr. R. Chase was built by J. Brice and used as his family residence. The building now occupied by Mrs. Lloyd was built and occupied by Gov. Ogle, but had many improvements by his son.

Shipyards.—When Annapolis possessed commerce there was a merchant named Wolstenholm lived on the bank of the Severn below Mr. Selby. He had a long range of warehouses; no vestige of these has remained for many years back. A wooden platform supported by wooden posts served this merchant instead of a wharf. Within the point of land projecting between the College and Graveyard was water deep enough to launch ships. The building yard was to right of the graveyard and where the ships were launched is now shallow and almost dry. The owner of the shipyard was named William Roberts [12]—he was a large importing merchant, reckoned to bring the best Madeira wines. His importations extended to London, Bristol, and other English and Irish ports. He built and occupied the house now of Col. Maynadier. This gentleman had a blacksmith shop to the north of his dwelling on which was a steeple in which hung the only bell in the city—below this stood his sailmakers' shop—he always had all things necessary to his business made here. The builders of the ships were Kirkwell and Black-

[12] William Roberts presented his account in 1769, 1770 and 1775 for certain sums for the use of his bell by St. Anne's Church, which account was approved and ordered to be paid by the Sheriff.

well. The first died early and was industrious and clever, as also the last.

The only vessel whose name I recollect was called "The Lovely Nancy" after Mrs. Roberts, an intimate acquaintance with whom I used to play in childhood. I remember the name from an incident connected with the launching. She was on the stocks and a large concourse of people assembled to see the launching. An old woman named Sarah McDaniel (white), a fortune-teller and witch, who was standing by said: "The 'Lovely Nancy' will not see water to-day." She moved finely for a while but stuck at last and Captain Slade with his sailors, fully under the impression that the vessel had been bewitched, determined to duck the old woman. They searched for her busily two or three days during which time she lay secreted in my father's kitchen, which stood adjacent to his dwelling on the lot opposite to Mrs. Walshe's residence. He removed from it to the lot adjoining Mrs. N's. The house was used as a hospital during the Revolution and was burned down afterwards. The "Lovely Nancy" did finally leave stocks and made several prosperous voyages.[13] The last recollected except one vessel was built by Mr. S. Chase and called the "Matilda." It was launched in the creek on the southwest side of Annapolis. The last was the "Lady Lee" fitted out by Gov. Lee; it was built elsewhere. My brother was the mate. She sailed to France. During the War the shores of the Bay were guarded by galleys. I do not remember the number. Commodore Gresham,[14] ancestor of A.

[13] Cf. Ridgely, p. 119.

[14] Commodore Thomas Grason. Acts of Assembly, Ch. 31, April Session, 1783: "III. And be it enacted, That the aforesaid Maria Grason, daughter of the said Thomas Grason, shall be maintained and educated at the expenee of this state, until she arrives to the age of twenty-one years, or marriage after her arrival at the age of eighteen years, whieh shall first happen; and on such marriage or arrival to twenty-one years, there shall be paid by this state, to the said Maria Grason, the sum of five hundred pounds current money; and the governor of this state for the time being is requested to give his directions concerning the maintenance and education of the said Maria Grason, and to act as her guardian on behalf of this

J. Davidson (now Waters), was at the head of the service. He died in the service and his daughter was a State orphan. Other merchants traded from Annapolis. A large block-making establishment stood where Mr. Goodman now keeps store.

West Street—was called Cowpen lane. The most considerable building was a tavern kept by a widow McCloud—it was afterward used for a circulating library and kept by Mr. Rind (related to the Pinkney family). This was in 1762 or 63. I was taken there when a child by my sister; it was the resort of the wits and the literary. It did not succeed and Mr. R. received an invitation to Williamsburg. The house fell into the possession of Mr. Quinn.[15] Afterward it was modified by Mr. Harris; it is now the residence of Mr. J. Johnson. The only other house was Mr. McParlin, also the tavern. The lot occupied by Lockerman had on it in the center a large house. The corner also had buildings upon it.

I do not remember in what year the present Episcopal Church was built. Mr. Key was the architect and builder.

Governor Eden. Incidents, Etc.—Governor Eden was in England after the commencement of the War. He was questioned by the Parliament respecting the condition of the State and the probability of the people long continuing the conflict. His replies differed from those of Gov. Hutchinson of Massachusets. He told them he believed the people would not easily be subdued but that they would hold out to the last. He returned to this city and narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. The Council of Safety sent a deputation down to the Government House for that purpose. He was at the moment on board

state, to see that she receives proper female education and accomplishments, *as the adopted child of the state.*"

This same act made provision for the education and maintenance of Thomas Walley, son of Capt. Zedekiah Walley who was killed on one of the State barges; both of these children were known as "the orphans of the state" or "children of the state." By Ch. 25, Acts of 1785, Joseph Handy, son of Capt. Joseph Handy of the barge *Protector*, was likewise provided for, but apparently was not formally adopted. No other like instances are known to the editor.

[15] Allen Quynn, for many years one of the vestrymen of St. Anne's.

a vessel which lay at the bottom of his garden, and Mr. Key who was returning to the house to get something for him, seeing the deputation and suspecting their purpose, returned and gave them warning to be off. They immediately rowed from shore and made their escape—pursuit would have been in vain. The vessel in which he made his escape was either the "Annapolis," his brother's vessel or a government vessel, I know not which. His attachment to the Province was very great, his plans respecting the permanent welfare at Annapolis were very liberal. He was a favorite of the people and a very fine person, tall and commanding. General Washington previous to the period of his escape always staid with him when in this city. They resembled in stature. I had seen them walk arm in arm. He changed before death, took the sacrament, and at his death he requested to be buried in S. R. Churchyard.[16] After the embarkation of the Governor, Mr. Key was banished 10 miles from the city (for his activity I presume); he was an Englishman and his predilections were for his country. On the Governor's return Mr. Key, then residing in Baltimore, came down to see him. He had under Governor Eden's direction improved the ball-room very much. Governor E. regretted he could not pay him, but left him the chandeliers which he himself imported at £1200 sterling to sell and remunerate himself. The Committee of Safety seized them and appropriated them. A rumour without foundation stated that arms were secreted in the Governor's house. In searching for them the chandeliers were found and taken. Their vigilance was very great. Mr. Key heard on one occasion of my illness and came to town to see me. He had not been in the house 15 minutes ere the Committee were there insisting that he should leave town. Tea being just ready, my mother said: "Why not let him take a cup of tea first?" They consented to stand at the window until he took tea and they saw him safely across the river.

[16] South River All Hallows Church, one of the oldest of which we have record before 1692, where Sir Robert Eden, according to his expressed wishes, is said to have been buried.

Indians.—The last Indians I recollect were a tribe on the Potomac. They exchanged their lands with the Calvert family for Baltimore County lands, where game was more plentiful. As the white population increased, they retired to the Susquehanna. The Eastern Shore tribes used to visit Annapolis previous to the Revolution. They were civilized and Christianized and I recollect the venerable appearance of King Abraham and Queen Sarah as they sat upon the steps of the old State House. The pond to the east of the Ice House Hill was called Deep Pond. My father has found fine oysters there and since the Revolutionary War Captain Prendergast was therein drowned. He had married previous to the Revolutionary War secretly. On his return he tried to obtain an interview with his bride, but her father prevented it. A few days after, his body was found, it was supposed he had drowned himself from vexation. Miss Mabury [17] was the lady. She lived in the house next to Judge Brewer's; her father cast her off when he discovered her marriage. She afterward married Mr. Onion of Harford Co.

Fortifications.—There was no fortification that I know of. The batteries at Sun Point excepted. The two points, Horn and Greenbury's were covered with trees until during the Revolution—they were cut down to erect fortifications.

The present State House—was originally built much lower the steeple and covered with copper. During the equinoctial gale the copper was torn off and rolled up like a scroll. It then received its present form. On the site of Mrs. Bowie's stood the tavern of "The Three Blue Balls," kept by John Ball—the property of Mr. West an opulent merchant, who emitted bills in his own name, called Stephen West's money. He resided at the Wood Yard and owned much property in this city. Mrs. B. Hyde purchased from him and erected from there down to G. Mackubin's.

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[17] Portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Onion may be seen at Mount Clare, the property of Miss Winn and Mrs. Arthur B. Keating.

EXTRACTS FROM THE CARROLL PAPERS

(Continued from Vol. XIV, p. 154.)

June 20th 1772 [191]

Dr Charley

Pray write to Mr Harding to send me as soon as possible 30 Sides of Upper & 30 sides of Soal Leather for negroe shoes directed to the Care of Mr H. Browne in Baltimore Towne, & tht you may not forget it & that the letter may goe by the next post, write it at yr first Leisure after you have perused this & Pay the Postage of it. What goods has Capn Ireland had from Perkins & Compa since Janu: 18th 1768? Have you any Articles agt Him since Sepr 1st 1768? I have His Acct to tht Date. I think I ordered some sheet Lead for Malvel last year, is it Come in? We had a little Rain last night, & this morning from 8 to ½ an Hour past 12 we have had a gentle Rain, wh was much wanted & will be of great service: All our People began to Plant about 9; The Rain has not penetrated quite 3 Inches in the light tobo. Hills, but it looks as if we should have more rain. I write at one a Clock. The Corn looks pert & green the dust being washed from it. My Ears began to run again yesterday evening, I shall wash them with Milk and water & use the white Ointment. 5 a Clock P. M. it has not Rained since ½ an hour past 12 but Continued thick & Misty with an appearance of more Rain. 8 P. M. We have had another pretty Rain it thunders & Lightens & looks like more Rain the wind being Easterly, this last Rain will secure this days Planting, all the new ground & the ground Behind the dry well is Planted: What is done elsewhere I know not. I suppose they will borrow a Piece of to-morrow morning. God bless you all. I am Dr Charley Yrs &c.

Cha: Carroll

June 23rd 1772

Dr Charley

By yrs of the 20th & 21st inst I perceive myne of the 20th had not reached you, it was sent by Mr Cooke, who I suppose got to Annapolis before 12 o'Clock as He went from Hence very early on the 21st. We have pitched above 9 tenths of our Crop, it will all stand if the ground worme will let it. Our Corn & Meadows allready shew the Effects of the Rain, But the Corn is very low for the Season, an early frost would Hurt it as it is so Backward. Rigges says there is ground enough in tendance to produce above 2000 Barrills of Corn at all the Plantations. I took a tour this morning to Jacobs, the Folly & by the Pool meadow, all my Fields smiled on me: this Rain will fil the wheat wh is promising the ears being of a good size rather large. Our Potatoes are also thriving, I am in hopes I may make 4000 Bushels, & a very good Crop of tobo. Rigges tells me we shall this day Finish stripping, it is very late to Have such work on hand. It began to Rain at ½ an hour past one & Continued, to two a Clock, a fine soakeing Rain. I write at ½ an hour past 3 & we have another soft Rain & it looks as if the Afternoon or rather Evening would be rainy. I spoke to Beard & think you may give up tht debt. He said He was only a Security. The step you took, wth Brownly was proper If you want more flour let me know when you would have it Mr Deards Came Here last Sunday morning & proposes to leave me on thursday. I shall tel H. Browne when I see him to goe to you. Calculate the Intt from the Day Buchanan Payed the money. I shall return the Phamphlets when I have perused them. I Cannot part with the Horses until you actually want thm they are in good order & I will Exercise thm in my Chair until you Call for them. Have you paid the 30/ to the French woman, if not pray pay it & let me know you have done so, I promised Her tht sum. The Runings of my Ears is again stopped. I am in hopes it will at last go quite away. June 24th we had another good rain yesterday in the Afternoon. We have done Planting Here & I suppose they have done so at all

other Plantations. I do not like this days High wind it drys the ground too fast. My love and Blessing to you Molly & the little ones: God grant you all Health & a long Continuance of it. I am Dr Charley

Yr mo: Afft Father

Cha: Carroll

June 26th 1772 [193]

Dr Charley

We have had a full 24 hours of a solid sober soaking Rain (I write at ½ an hour past 11 A: M) for little in Comparison of what fel run of the Ground. I suppose it has penetrated deep & tht the Corn, & tobo Planted, will not suffer for want of moisture for 3 weeks to Come tho the surface of our Land with three days sun may appear Parched. This Rain is very Seasonable for every thing but wheat wh did not want it & some apprehend it may Occasion the Rust, but as the weather is Cold I do not apprehend tht Consequence. The Rain I think will be very Benificiall to our Oates, for tho they are low, I think they will Feather & fill well, and our Pasturage & Meadows must be much improved by it. It begins to Clear it Blowes fresh & I fear a Cold high wind. I have a letter from Mr Brooke dated the 23d wherein He tells me He had sold my wheat at 7/4 to Moore who is to take it from my warehouse at His owne Expense, He also says He thinks I may depend upon good Payment. 300 & odd Bushells were delivered on the 24th, the Rest would have been delivered this day if fair. I expect the Cash next week & will send you £130 or £140 Pounds, as I think, I Can make a Shift with the Remainder untill I see Jos Johnson. My love & Blessing to you all. May be Molly has determined on what day to Come up, if so, let me know it. I am Dr Charley Yr mo: Afft Father

Cha: Carroll

June 30th 1772 [194]

Dr Charley

I have yrs of the 22d to the 27th inst both dates inclusive. I have informed H. Browne tht I expect leather from Mes Harding. I inclose you Ireland's Acct it is the only one I have, Return it with a Copy of any Additionall Acct you may have agt Him, I took when at Annapolis A Mo of the £4:10:3 pd Clapham. If I do not find a safe Conveyance for yr Letter to Line I will send a Messenger with it. Redick is Removed to Bre County. In a letter of yrs to me dated June 2d 1769, you say Hance Wandle Hovel has past His Bond to Jo: Redick, for nigh the sum Redick owes us, He is to take up Redicks Bond. John Shryer is Hovel's Father in Law. Hovel last year promised to be with me this Fal. I will write to Him by the 1st opportunity. By the Receit it appears I did not Convey to Brownly nor will I if He pays Bills. He Cannot expect it as they may meet with the fate of Lees Bills, you may tell Him this. I have not yet got my goods or a letter from H: Brown, I have sent Ellick this day to B: Towne to know the Reason of it. I hope our next years importation will Consist of few Articles beside Plantation goods, if we do not restrain our Imaginary wants, no sum will satisfy them. The Wheat is sold to Moore's Son, Brooke thinks Him good Pay & have wrote to C: B to know when I may Expect the Cash; I have also wrote for Intelligence about the Mares, Considering Ridgelys Character I would not swear tht they are not Concealed by Him. I believe I shall write as you advise about the Vignerons. I know not how it Happens tht yr flour is so bad our Bread is not the best But it is good and very Eatable. I have drove or used the Leaders twice, they goe very Gently, but neigh upon seeing Mares but are no way unruly. Mr Thos Buchanan Came Here last Sunday, He asked for tobo whether I intended to sell I told him I did, But tht I believed I should sell to West, if I did not, He should know it when I found a Price fixed. We were both free & easy. By Him I wrote to you tht last Saturday the People I think 70 Enterd into an Association not Pay

more than 4/ to our Parson & desiering you to Pay no more. Jo: Dorsey desiers to know y^{r} Lowest Price for Thirty Tonns of Bar Iron, He wanted it on freight, I told Him y^{r} Resolution was to sel.

July 1st Mr Lewis Came Here yesterday, He will forward my letters about the Vignerons ans. Back th^{m} I have made the Alterations you advised: He brought the inclosed. This will be delivered you by M^{r} Bear, by whome I desier you will send 5 Dozen of sickles if you have th^{m} not in the store they must be bought by the same opportunity send the Clayed Sugar if it be Come to hand. Ellick is not yet Returned from the Works. My love & Blessing to you all, M^{rs} Darnell presents Her's also she will write by the Boy next Saturday. M^{r} Lewis presents His Compliments, He Has an intermitting feavour & has had it for ten days past. I intend to M^{r} Croxall's next Monday, say something kind about Him in y^{rs} to me by George Bean—I am

D^{r} Charley Y^{r} mo: Aff: Father

Cha: Carroll

July 2^{d} 1772 [195]

D^{r} Charley

Being in a Hurry when Bear Called I forgot to send you M^{r} Ireland Acc^{t} w^{h} I now Inclose. C^{t} Brooke in a letter dated the 30th past says y^{r} Wheat is not all delivered as yet to M^{r} Moore, His boate is now at the Landing for the last Load. I Could not see M^{r} More He being from Home, But His Clerk says I may Expect the Cash in a few days. I suppose I shall be able to send you what I Can spare next Saturday Sen-night by M^{r} Ashton. I likewise inclose my Additionall letter to M^{r} Williams & my letter of advice to M^{r} Buchanan. Get M^{r} Deards to Enter the last in the letter Book & return both to me. The English mare & M^{r} Irelands are found & I shall send for them next Tuesday. The goods H: Browne bought are at the Landing & I shall send for them to morrow—July 3^{d} Rigges says we want Rain allready, I do not think so, As a planter

I think a Soaking Shower once a week would sute us. As a farmer Rain might bring a Mildew or a Rust, there is no appearance of either or any Blight as yet, the Wheat looks very well has a full & Rather large ear & I think it will turn out a large Heavy & Plump grain, but in generall it is too thin: we shall not I think begin our wheat Harvest before the 13th if so soon wh we shall Quickly finish as Rigges proposes to Have 100 Reapers in the field. The ground worme hitherto has done little or no damage, the Plants in generall stand very well. Our Corn especially where the ground is good Comes on as well as can be Expected. The Oates except in the Meadows are lowe but have a strong Verdure & I think will turn out a pretty good Crop, & our Hay Harvest will be much better than I expected. The Potatoes Come on well & I hope will produce a good Crop. Pray send the Boy back early on Sunday morning as I shall be glad to Hear how you do before I set of for Mr Croxall's from whence I shall return on Thursday. I suppose you will at farthest by Mr Ashton appoint a day for sending you the Leaders. I long to see you all. My love & Blessing to you Molly & the little ones, God Grant you all perfect Health & a very long Continuance of it. I am

Dr Charley Yr mo: Afft Father

Chas Carroll

P. S. 8 o'Clock P: M:

I have yrs by Bearer. I wish you had sent all the sickles. I Recd the Goods mentioned in Mr Deards former letter & pd 7/6. I shall write to Dorsey about yr Iron & speak when I see you about Trammel

July 10th 1772 [196]

Dr Charley

I have yrs of the 3d & 4th inst. I have ordered Rigges to Reserve between 5 & 6 of my Worst tobo for the Parson wh in Case of necessity I will order to be distributed into as many tobo Houses as I have got & it shall be such as shall be deemed Marchantable as it shall be of the Value of 10/ Cur pr Ct at

least. I shall let you know How our sickles prove on tryall. We began to reap our Wheat this morning. You have given away y^{r} Barr. You do not give y^{r} self the trouble to enquier How it sels. I am informed it goes of at £28 p^{r} Ton in Philadelphia. You do not want money, Even a want of th^{t} would not Justify y^{r} selling so low. I offrd y^{r} Iron to Dorsey at £16:10:0 ster I have not had His answer. The Leaders goe downe by Clem & I shall dayly Expect Molly & the little ones & you if you Chuse to Ride y^{r} Trotter so far. Pray present my Compliments to Do^{r} Scot & thanks for the Turnip seed I have not Received any Money from Moore, C^{t} Brooke knew I was from Home & I Hope th^{t} is the Reason He did not send it, if I get it before Johny Returns, I will send what you want by Him. I returned yesterday from M^{r} Croxall's, I found Him I think better than I have seen Him since His Disorder, but any surprise sets Him a shaking & trembling, as it did when He Received me. His nerves will never Recover their strength but He may probably live several years under His disorder: He is much obliged to you for y^{r} kind Remembrance of Him & intended Visit, w^{h} I am Certain will give Him great satisfaction, for He says we are His only Friends in whome He can entirely Confide. He began His Harvest on Monday w^{h} will be a good one, But His Wheat as myne is too thin & that is the Case of all the Wheat between this & the Garrison, but the grain is fine & I think will prove very weighty: I have not Heared th^{t} the Wheat is any where touched with the Rust, Mildew or a Blight. We had Here a refreshing shower last Tuesday evening, more at the Folly & lower Quarters, it will help our Corn & tob^{o} the 1st Rigges tells me is very good at all the Quarters some of this old Field ground, th^{t} is the poorest of it Excepted, which is but very indifferent. I have not Heared that the ground Worm has done much Damage I did not Ask Rigges, I only saw Him last night, He is now wth the Reapers at the Folly. I expect our Rye & Wheat Harvest will be over by Tuesday night every where; Dorseys Meadow, the Long Meadow next to Irelands & th^{t} below the Orchard are moved

the two 1st in stack, the two last produce but a thin Crop but the Hay very good, so is the Hay below the Orchard. I have not seen Dorseys Meadow since it was mowed But Rigges says it yielded pretty well & the Hay very good! Frost has mowed and stacked His grass meadows & stacked it a good Crop. Chas: Ridgely wrote to me the 20th Past to send for my Mares, I sent Accordingly last Monday to the works, Ct Brooke as old Ned tells me said they had not got the mares but that they had Heared where they were. Ridgely I suppose to Answer His owne ends persuaded Hamilton to send His Horse to Him & Care not whether Hamilton or those who send Mares are served: As Clem must walk Home I Cannot expect any Clayed sugar by Mim, Molly may Perhaps Contrive to Bring up 25 or 30 ℔ with Her. My love & Blessing to you all.
Wishing you perfect Health & a very long Continuance of it I am

Dr Charley Yr mo: Afft Father

Cha: Carroll

8 o'Clock post M: I have been at the Folly, they have got downe about 60 Acres of Wheat & most of it is shocked, there is 16 or 18a which is left untill Tuesday being too green it is really fine Wheat there were about 80 Reapers in the Field. We shall have a good Crop of Oates tho our upland Oates are Low & too thin our Meadow Oates are so stout & Rank tht I fear they will lodge should we have Heavy Rains. Our Potatoes in Generall look well. upon enquiery I Hear the Ground Worme has not done much damage: Frost has Replanted, Rigges not, thinking the season not good enough.

Aug. 14th 1772 [197]

Dr Charley

I have yrs of the 9th inst by Mr Ashton By the tenor of my letter to Jo: Buchanan you will see He ought not to have Charged me with the Credit given to D: Carroll, My letter will not bear such a meaning. Write Him so by Capn Eden &

th^{t} you have or will draw on him as if He had not made the Charge. I have not nor shall I mention what you desier may be a secret. The English & M^{r} Irelands mare were taken up within 4 miles of B: Towne the 10th ins^{t} & Carryed to M^{r} Ridgelys who sent them to M^{r} Brooke & I received them the 12th. We had a pretty brisk rain Last Sunday in the Afternoon it lasted ½ an hour & was of great Service to everything but to the Corn in particular. This morning about two a Clock we had a smart rain Here, w^{h} did not last above three minutes. A soaking Rain is much wanted Especially for the tob^{o} & to Enable us proceed in sowing our Wheat & Rye w^{h} we have discontinued for fear of fiering our Corn: 38 Bush^{s} of Wheat are sowed in the Corn field next to the House & 35 Bush: of Rye in the Poorest of the Ground of the Corn field next adjoining; Riggs talks of sowing 300 Bush^{s} of Wheat including all the Plantations & says He shall be able to Manage the Harvesting of it with ease. I have y^{rs} by Sam who got Here about 3 o'Clock P. M. Johny shall set of to morrow early with Hen White the new Gardener who handles His tools well & I think, will make a good Kitchen Gardener & an orderly serv^{t} if you keep him Constantly employed & do not spoil Him by too much indulgence & suffering him to goe into Towne & keeping Idle Company. Sam says you had a fine Rain last night & this morning. We have some Apearance of a gust now at 5 a Clock. We expect to see you & M^{rs} Ridout on Tuesday. We are all well & give our love to you & Compliments to our Friends Especially to M^{rs} Eden We again Wish Her a pleasant & short passage Health & all the Happiness she wishes. I am

D^{r} Charley Y^{r} mo: Aff^{t} Father

Cha: Carroll

Sep^{r} 2^{d} 1772 [198]

D^{r} Charley

This is my Dear little Polly's birthday I shall drink Her Health, it is odds you will not do so. I sent y^{r} letter to John Line at York last Sunday by M^{r} Faulk & I expect an answer

by Him in a few days. The last of our tob^{o} was sent last Saturday to the Landing vzt 64 hgds weighing net 64913 beside two Trash hgds w^{h} are not yet sold. I am told tob^{o} is falling at E: R. Landing & th^{t} last Saturday the best sold at 30/ Cw^{t}. We had a little sprinkle of Rain last night, it helps on the tob^{o} w^{h} is in a thriving way. We began to House yesterday at this place 12 Cart Loads were brought in. We Received from Phi^{a} 30 Sides of Soale & 27 d^{o} of Upper leather as you wrote for 30 of each, let me know what is Charged. Pray send me M^{r} Crookes letters & M^{os} about Hugh Riellys Lands w^{h} Prather &c treated about.

Sep^{r} 4 the little Cart goes downe to morrow with some flour, Bridget, Anna & part of Mollys & the Childrens Baggage, I shall note at the Bottom of this the things we want. Cap^{n} Ireland & M^{r} Deards went to D: C:^{s} last Wednesday they proposed to return Hither to Morrow or Sunday. I have delivered a Copy of the inclosed to Cap^{n} Hanrick send this by Ship sailing before or after Hanrick, it incloses a letter to M^{r} Williams. I close this at 8 a Clock P. M there seems to be a Gust with you I am

D^{r} Charley Y^{r} mo: Aff^{t} Father

Cha: Carroll

Send by the Cart 2^{m} 2/ Nails
200 ℔ English Soale Leather

Sep^{r} 6th 1772 [199]

D^{r} Charley

I have y^{rs} of the 31st past & the 1st & 4th instant. I am sorry to hear you was so unwell, but Hope by Will to Hear you are quite recovered or at least much better. Let me know the Courts determination Hoxton v^{s} Gardener. When you are well & at leisure send me the other Papers relating to Newfoundland. Without reflection I gave y^{r} letter to me to Molly, I am sorry for it as the Acc^{t} of Her Fathers being Executed made Her low spirited & y^{r} being unwell. We have had no Rain since you left us, it is wanted & would be of Great

Service to the Young Corn & tob°. If our last Rains had Come 8 or 10 days sooner I think they would have added a 5th to our Corn & tob° as it is we shall make a good Crop of Both. We have filled six Houses & got fiers in them. If you Resolve to part with old Seers Mr Riggs Recommends an Overseer, determine soon & if you do not part with Seers threatten him hardly & speak to Him roundly about His Drinking abusing the People & every body about Him, Mr Ashton & in Particular & His supplying His Children on the En Shore with Provisions; By His agreement He was not to keep more than 20 hoggs on the Island. You would do well to speak fully to His son on these Heads & to desier Him to let His Father know fully yr Resolution from what Johny may say you may Judge whether old Seers sells or gives away Provisions. I send you by Molly 5½ Joes & inclose you £10 Pounds wh will nigh Pay my Parson at 4/ pr Pol wh Mr Clapham told me He would take as I payed Him 5/ last year I Can spare the money & may be you may want it, delay not this as I have sold three & will sel 2 more thrash hgds. If you are well I am Happy, God grant you Molly & our little ones perfect Health & a very long Continuance of it, it is the Hourly wish & Dayly Prayer of

Dr Charley Yr mo: Afft Father

Chas. Carroll

Sepr 10th 1772 [200]

Dr Charley

I have yr two letters of the 6th & 8 inst. I received the things you sent by the Cart. Where does Creamer Load? knowing tht you may be more Particularly informed about yr Jack Ass, Vzt. when & by what Vessel you may Expect Him: I suppose He will Come to N. York or Philadelphia; If He Comes safe He will be well worth yr money, if of the size you mention. You may be assured D: D: saw the Whole Will As Gardener told you He shewed it to Him, Gardener is sufficient to Establish the fact, But if you Can Coroberate His say so, so

much the better. I will write to Dilling. If I Can prevaile on Rob^{t} Davis I will send Him to Run out Carrolls Forrest. I am glad to hear Manins promises to doe well, as to His Speed no Judgement Can be formed of it untill He is well tryed. I Can spare Oates, but Cannot promise to send th^{m} as you may want them. Now to y^{rs} of the 8th I am very Glad to Hear that Molly & the little ones are well, I miss Her & them much, But they are where they should be. You may perhaps Recollect where you put the Papers relating to Newfoundland. It is too late to sow the Ground before y^{r} House, I will not sow my Meadow at the Bath tho moist ground this fall; I will reserve White Clover & English Grass seed for you to be sowed in the Spring. I shall let Riggs know you intend to keep Seers. Will Could not bring up both the Stallions, Clem who Carries this will bring up the other: Jacob shall dress & feed th^{m} as you desier, I have spoke to Riggs to see th^{t} He does so. I am glad to Hear y^{r} Claret is Come, but infinitely more so th^{t} you are well. I suppose Goldsborough will Come in Octo^{r} to the Chancery Court for His Hgd: settle the Point with Him. I suppose there will be a Judgement ag^{t} Worthington this Court, order an Execution, I doubt not but the Judgement will be for Principall & interest. I send you Lines & sights letters, I wrote for the Acc^{t} some time past if they should Come they may Reasonably Expect the Acc^{t}. Return the letter & send the Acc^{t} by Clem, I have a M^{o} th^{t} Botts's Balance was on the 23^{d} of May 1771 £386:8:4¾ Ster, If Sights Pays it of this month, it will amount to nigh £700 Curr^{t}. Jos: Johnson Came to me last Monday, from 3 o Clock P: M: untill 10, & from 6 in the Morning on Tuesday untill 2 P: M: I was Closely Employed to dispach Him. You will see by the inclosed th^{t} y^{r} Estate at Monnoccasi has Produced this year upwards of £680 ster. I send you £110 as p^{r} the inclosed List. We had a skirting Rain last night w^{h} lasted about 5 minutes, it now is Cloudy & looks like Rain w^{h} is very much Wanted. Has Henderson payed y^{r} order to West? if so & the Quantity be 5000, we shall sell 127113 ℔ Vz^{t} Elk Ridge 64913, Monoccasi

57200 ℔, I intend to bring the Receits with me to the Races unless you want them sooner Sept 11th it began to Rain last night about 11 o Clock & Continued with some short intermissions untill nine this morning it was a fine Sober soaking Rain. Another Rain some time Hence may be wanted for the youngest or smalest tobo. We have at all the Plantations filled 9 Houses, & Have fiers in them so Riggs told me last night Mr Ashton has fretted His Guts to Fiddle strings about Mr Lucas's Pranks, We have teazed Him not a little, Have Compassion on Him. We are well, I hope to Hear tht you Molly & the little ones are so: My love & Blessing to you all & I am

Dr Charley Yr mo: Afft Father

Cha: Carroll

1772		Cur.	Ster.
Sepr 8	To Cash of Jos: Johnson	61:16:10	72:1:5
	To £72:1:5 Ster: is	120: 0: 0	
		181:16:10	
	By His Commission on £181:16:10 at 5 pr Ct	9: 1 :10	
		172:15: 0	
	By do on Receiving 57200 ℔	12:10: 0	
		160: 5: 0	
	By my order to Balser Heck for a Horse	14:10: 0	
		145:15: 0	
	By pd a Judgement to Caspar Shaaf	15: 5: 0	
		130:10: 0	

By p^{d} Sundries for 1132℔ tob^{o} w^{h} they overpayed in their hgds to make them Heavy at 30 p^{r} C^{t}	16:19: 6
	113:10: 6
By p^{d} Waggoning 2 hgds	0:15: 0
	112:15: 6
By Cash to my son by M^{r} Ashton	110: 0: 0
	2:15: 6

Cash sent by M^{r} Ashton

17	Half Joes	£51: 5: 0
3	Guineas	5: 5: 0

Cash inclosed

10	8 Dollar Bills	30: 0: 0
5	6 Dollar d^{o}	11: 5: 0
4	4 Dollar d^{o}	6: 0: 0
8	2 Dollar d^{o}	6: 0: 0
1	Dollar d^{o}	0: 7: 6
1	Third of a Dollar	0: 2: 6
		£110: 0: 0

Sep^{t} 11th 1772 4 a Clock P. M. [201]

D^{r} Charley

We have had two or three little Rains since nyne in the morning. All the Rains have been Accompanyed with thunder, tho not loud severe or nigh us. I believe these Rains have been pretty Generall & it looks as if we should have more. It is fine Warme growing Weather. I have made a Walk between the Bath & the bottom of the Vineyard, Whenn Completed it will look well, it extends all along the Bottom of the Vineyard. If Clem Can Conveniently bring it send me a Piece of Hair

Cloth & let me know how many yards in a Piece. Our Wheat & Rye are Come up well & will in a few days make our Corn fields look like meadows. I am

Dr Charley

Yrs &c

Cha: Carroll

P. S. Capn Hanrick took His leave of us yesterday

Pray make my Compliments to Mr Robt Goldsborough if He Can spare the time & it is agreeable to Him it would give me Pleasure to see Him Here. Tel Him this is not a meer Compliment, I think the Jaunt would do Him good

Sepr 17th 1772 [202]

Dr Charley

I gave Rigges orders to get yr Rammers & Iron wedges ready, as soon as possible. Robert Davis is the only Surveyor within my reach. If you make a Continued slope from the Gate to the wash house, I apprehend the Quantity of Water in great Rains going tht way may prove very inconvenient, I think you should make as much of tht Roade as you Can with a fall to the Street. We have not had the least frost Here but a very fine Rain all yesterday & it being very warm to day everything but Corn will be greately benefitted by it, & the youngest Corn may be helped. Tobo growes surprizingly, so does the Wheat & Rye. The Corn field before the House looks like a meadow the Wheat entierly Covering the ground, the Tops & Blades in tht field are gathered. I desiered you to lay by for me 6 Bushels of Spelts, if you have forgot it, get thm Ready before the Races, tht they may Come up in my Waggon. As you say nothing about it, I fear you did not take the trouble to make my Compliment to Mr Goldsborough, I wish you had. Old Christie & Dor Lyon left me this morning, they stayed two nights. The Boy Antony who was so ill when you was Here dyed this morning, Howard opened Him & told me He was filled wth worms, it is od the Faculty Cannot stumble on an Effectuall Vermifuge, most negroes are killed by them.

Sep^{r} 18th I went to Ellicotts Mil this morning, He said it did not sute His Business to Grind at a Certain price by the Bushell, He offerd to grind for Tol with the Stones w^{h} doe Country Work but the flour then would not be of the best, I therefore bespoke two Barrills of Superfine w^{h} I will send you before the Races. Y^{r} stone Wedges are not done the Smiths being out a Coaling: to prevent Mistakes either send a Model or the dimentions of th^{m} vzt how many Inches long How Broad & the thickness of the Head. I hope to Hear th^{t} little Molly & all of you are well. My love & Blessing to you all.

I am

D^{r} Charley Y^{r} Mo: Aff^{t} Father

Cha: Carroll

P. S. Is there a Judgement ag^{t} Worthington? Have we been successful in the Lottery? our Numbers Run from 3621 to 3640 inclusive

Sep^{r} 22^{d} 1772 [203]

D^{r} Charley

I have y^{rs} of the 19th by Clem. The fall in y^{r} yard as you describe it, is as I would have it. I wish you had delivered my Message to M^{r} Goldsborough for altho He Could not Come the invitation must have been agreable to Him as He must have thought it (as it really was) Cordiall. You or M^{r} Deards forgot to send the last Maryland Gazet, Magazines, & English news papers w^{h} you say you send by Clem, However I have seen the Parody & the Regulator, they in my Opinion Contain much abuse & very little or no reasoning. Consequently I think the Authors will gain no Credit by them but will make personall Enemies. I suppose the Register in Chancery if appointed to state the Acc^{ts} between Digges & me, was so by Petition or Motion from Digges, for I think the Chancellor would not have done it Suo Moto. If the Court is not over, Pray tell Johnson earnestly to press for interest on Worthingtons debt, it is as I am informed the Practice of the Courts

to give it on Merchants open Acc^{ts} from the end of the usuall Credit. Wheat is a ready money Commodity & of Course the Interest should be allowed from the Delivery of it. As Worthington has staved of Judgement as long as Possible, I hope M^{r} Johnson Has not taken a Judgement with a stay of Execution as soon as the Court is over. Pray present my Compliments to M^{r} Carroll & His Lady & tell th^{m} I rejoice on their safe arival, if He has given you any news or Anecdotes Communicate them in y^{r} next. I will send you some Oates by the Wagon or little Cart the 3^{d} of Octo^{r}. But Riggs says few if any more Can be sent, as the working Horses at all the Plantations & strangers Horses have been fed with the Common Oates, & the best Oates are reserved for seed at all the Plantations. I am glad to Hear Marius grows a fine Horse & Hope He will Reimburse y^{r} Annuall subscription to the Jockey Club. The Iron Wedges are done. I shall with this send as many of them as the Boy Can Conveniently Carry. The wood is got for y^{r} Rammers as I suppose they are not immediately wanted the wood had better lay as long as may be to season, the Rings otherways will be apt to slip off. I am pretty Certain I shall sel my Wheat to Ellicot, but then what will you do for 2^{ds}, the 2^{ds} of the Wheat ground for us is used Here, & Our fine flour makes as good Bread as I wish for. Our Crops of all Sorts are promising, it now Rains & is warmer, if it Breaks up so we shall have a good Crop of tob^{o} may be between 80 & 100 hgds. If Pacas Goldsborough's &c opinion should prevail, it will doubtless prove a Happy incident to Maryland, th^{t} the Parsons Have been so Craving. You promised to send me Conrad Botts Acc^{t}, Pray let me Have it by the Bearer.

Sep^{r}: 25th It rained hard Tuesday evening last & almost all th^{t} night w^{h} we did not want; It did some small damage to the turfing of my Ditches at the Vineyard Meadow & washed our tob^{o} so thin th^{t} we have been obliged to discontinue Housing tob^{o} untill this day, to give it time to Recover its substance, little of it will be standing tomorrow Senight if the weather prove dry, We Have at this time as Riggs tells me Housed half th^{t} Crop: We shall get in all our Corn Fother by the middle

of next week or near all. Jos: Elgar Came Here last Monday & went away yesterday at noon. He has set my Cyder Mill to Rights She Grinds at a great rate & well, ten times more than I Can press in a day, my press at present is inconvenient being Placed too high that defect I can rectify by sinking it about 3 feet & I intend to doe it ag^{t} next Season. Our wheat & Rye every where looks Charmingly. I am apprehensive it will be too thick & Joint if the weather proves warme, I think it promises at present to Prove so. If you want turnips say so, I can send some very good ones. I shall send you nigh a Bush: of Walnuts a Veal an Ox &c &c. the Ox will goe Hence the 29th ins^{t}. I was sorry by Mollys to Her mother to hear she was out of order, by the Boy I hope to Hear you are all well. I at present propose to be with you the 2^{d} of Octo^{r}. My love & Blessing to you all. I am

D^{r} Charley Yr Mo: Aff^{t} Father

Cha: Carroll.

Sep^{r} 28th 1772 [204]

D^{r} Charley,

I have y^{rs} of the 26th ins^{t} by Clem. I think Ja^{s} Brooke will be a proper person to state the Acc^{ts} between Digges & me I will reserve 15 Bushels of my best Oates for you to sowe. I hope to find Molly quite well, I Heartily wish Her so. Benj. Sights was with me the 26th instant, it was lucky He did not insist on a Sight of Botts Acc^{t}, which Came to Hand yesterday. He payed me £185 Curr^{t}. I will pay you £100 part of it, the Rest I hope will serve me until next Spring: Underneath you Have Botts Acct. stated to settle y^{r} Books. A fine Ox sets of tomorrow, He as they tell me has been fed since last fall & of Course will turn out very fine meat. We are well, I hope this will find you all so. My love & Blessing to you all & to Molly in Particular & tell Her to Kiss our dear little Girls for me. I am D^{r} Charley,

Y^{r} Mo: Aff^{t} Father

Cha: Carroll.

1772	Conrade Bott Dr	
May 23d	To Ballance	£409: 12: 1
Sept. 26.	To 4 months 3 days intt thereon	8: 7: 11
1772	Cr	418: 0: 0
Sepr 26	By £185: 0: 0 Currt is at 66⅔ Exchange	111: 0: 0
	By Balle Charged pr Cr	307: 0: 0
		418: 0: 0

Octor: 14: 1772 [205]

Dr Charley,

I send you the enclosed Accts by wh you may settle those Accts. with you. Poor Dilling had got the money ready last fal to Pay me But Broke His leg by a fall from His Horse, He spent all the money on Doctors who at last Cut of His Leg, He proposes this fall to Mortgage His Land to me as a better security. On the Back of the Accts you will see some things I want Pray do not forget to write for thm to Come with the Goods Marked E R. you forgot to give me the Courses of the Original tract on wh the Resurvey of the widows Cost was Founded: I Gave you the Certificate of the Widows Cost return it with the Courses of the Original tract—Send me Dilling's Bond, I will Carry downe His New Bond.

Octor 16th Inclosed you Have, an Acct of Wheat & Rye sowed & tobo Housed. The 27½ Houses I think will turn out upwards of 80 hgds as 6 Houses under Riggs's Care Have been Rehung & all the Houses under His Care very well filled as He says. Whether any of the Houses's under Frosts Care are rehung I know not. Our Tops & Blades were every where in, when I Came Home & all the tobo Could Have been Housed, But the Weather favouring they let it stand to be quite Ripe. Every day we have had very damp foggy mornings, fiers Have

been kept to prevent House burning. Rigges has nigh stripped a House a good deal of it fine as you will see by the Samples I send you: You will take an opportunity of shewing it to West, Riggs says He thinks we shall have severall hgds of fine. Next week we shall begin to take up our Potatoes, I think there will be a good Crop of them. The walk at the Bottom of the Vineyard is finished & the slope from it towards the meadow Turfed. The turfing of the Ditches is Repaired & I hope will stand as this growing Weather will enable the Roots of the grass to take a strong Hold of the Banks all our grain Sowed looks well & so does the Indian Corn where the ground is tollerably good & I am in Hopes we shall make a good Crop of it. Our next Business is to prepare for the Ensuing Crop by Grubing Clearing Ploughing &c &c. I shall be short in Cyder, My apples wer stolen & much diminished by my Absence: A man whose dependance is on the Produce of His Plantation, Cannot I see be long or often absent from it. As I want 2 Pieces of Cotton, Wool Madeira wine I send the wagon. If you Have Bottled y^{r} Claret let me 12 Bottles as Coll Sharp may Call, it will be enough to last me untill I goe downe for the Winter: I write to M^{r} Deards for these things I Hope to Hear you are all well & th^{t} Molly has got rid of Her Cold & Recover'd from the Fatigue of Her Company & Rakeing. I miss you all my D^{r} little Molly wanted to Come with us My love & Blessing to you all May you enjoy Good Health & be perfectly Happy, th^{t} is as happy as Mortalls Can be. I am D^{r} Charley

Y^{r} Mo: Aff^{t} Father

Cha: Carroll.

P. S. I hope the shoes now sent will doe service Rigges tels me they are very good Pray give the inclosed Acc^{t} to M^{r} Johnson & desier Him to send a Writ & Declaration immediately ag^{t} Masters, th^{t} my Claim may be brought as soon as Possible to a determination

1771	Jos. Elgar	Dr
May 8th	To Balle	£82: 13: 10¼
Oct. 8th	To 5 months Intt thereon	2: 1: 4¼
1771	Cr	84: 15: 2½
Octor 8	By Building a Syder Mill press &c	30: 0: 0
1772	Dr	
Octor 8	To one years Intt thereon	3: 5: 8½
		58: 0: 11

1771	James Dilling Dr	Currt
Augt 9th	To one years Intt thereon	2: 16: 8¼
		50: 1: 8½
1772	Cr	
Augt 9	By yr Bond for Balle	£50: 1: 8½

two substantiall Square Mahogany tables each 4 feet 4 Inches Broad & 5 feet 6 Inches long Exactly of a Height & so Contrived as upon Occasion to be fixed togeather & make one table with substantiall leggs.

1 Ps of fine Irish Holland at 4/6 about 20 yards

5 yards of yard wide fine & thick Musling

E: R

If you have not a good many drum lines by you or have not wrote for thm doe so. I shall want a Dzn for my Ditchers, at the Vineyard &c. Send me two by the Bearer.

1772 An Acct of Wheat and Rye	Tobacco Housed	Tobo to be Housed	Wheat Sowed	Rye Sowed
Oct. 15. Sowed, tobo Housed & to be Housed			Bush	Bush
At Frosts			20	20
At Organers & Glens		14½	10	10
At Marshalls			14	8
At Sams			10	10

At Riggs's 5 Rehung	5	1	46	50
At Moses's	2		12	20
At Suckys 1 Rehung	2		7	14
At Clarks			96	
At Jacobs	3		215	132
6 Bush[s] of Spelts are sowed	26½	1		
at Frosts	11			
	27½			

Bush[s] of Barley sowed
at Clarks

IN MEMORIAM

II

Olive Thomas Beauchamp, 1st Lieut., 27th Aero Squadron, U. S. A.

Born at Princess Anne, Md., November 5, 1897.

Killed in action, Nesle Woods, France, August 1, 1918.

Olive Thomas Beauchamp, was the son of the late Olive Beauchamp and Ida I. Beauchamp and brother of Mildred Beauchamp, L. Preston Beauchamp, J. Roger Beauchamp and Sydney H. Beauchamp.

He received his early education from the public school of Princess Anne, Md. He then enrolled at Tome Institute, Port Deposit, Md., and after remaining two years, entered Mercersburg Academy, Mercersburg, Pa. Subsequently he took a course at Purce Business School, Philadelphia, Pa., which school he was attending at the time of enlistment.

One month after the declaration of war he enlisted in the Aviation Corps as a cadet (flying status), and was assigned to

Ohio State University at which institution he received his ground training in preparation for flying.

On October 8, 1917, he sailed for Europe with one of the first Aero Squadrons landing at Liverpool, England, October 22nd, and after a short training went to France where he completed his course and was commissioned 1st Lieutenant.

Lieut. Beauchamp immediately took up active service, his first assignment being in defense of Paris. While engaged in this work he had numerous perilous escapes and is credited with two Boche planes.

On July 23rd, he was transferred to the 27th Aero Squadron, 1st Pursuit Group and took part in the drive at the second battle of the Marne, on which front he was killed August 1, 1918, while attacking a German formation of forty planes, falling well within the German lines.

On August 17th, a grave was found with a small cross marked with Lieut. Beauchamp's name. This grave was near a small town named Dole, about six kilometers northeast of Fere-en-Tardenois. Lieut. Beauchamp's grave was fenced in and a large wooden cross placed on it by members of the 27th Aero Squadron.

Charles J. Blankfard, Jr., Corporal 117th Trench Mortar Battery.

Born at Baltimore, Md., November 8, 1898.

Killed in action, Baccarat, France, April 28, 1918.

Charles J. Blankfard, Jr., was the son of Charles J. Blankfard and Julia A. Blankfard of 3404 Windsor avenue, Baltimore, Md., and brother of Madeline F. Blankfard, F. Byrne Blankfard, George G. Blankfard, and Roger J. Blankfard.

He attended the public schools of Baltimore city graduating from the Baltimore City College in 1916. For one year he was employed by a construction engineers firm, enlisting at the outbreak of the war in the 117th Trench Mortar Battery. He

sailed for France October 18, 1917 as a member of the famous Rainbow Division and arrived at St. Nazaire October 31.

He was killed at Baccarat, France, April 23, 1918 and was awarded (posthumous) the following Divisional citation.

"The late Corporal Charles J. Blankfard, 117th Trench Mortar Battery:—that his conduct on the occasion of an enemy raid on our trenches on the morning of March 5, 1918 when he directed the fire of his piece until all ammunition on hand was exhausted and then led his men through the barrage along a communicating trench, a distance of at least fifty meters, where he reported to the French commander and continued with his squad to carry ammunition for the French during the remainder of the engagement had been brought to the Divisional Commander's personal attention and that he considers Corporal Blankfard's performance of duty on this occasion worthy of the highest commendation. He regards his action in the face of the enemy gallant, an example to his comrades in arms and characteristic of that splendid standard upon which the traditions of our military establishment are founded.

"Walter E. Powers,

"*Major, N. G., Adjutant-General;*
Divisional Adjutant, 42nd Division."

Frederick Campbell Colston, Captain, 155th Art. Brigade, A. E. F.

Born in Baltimore, Md., January 25, 1884.

Died of pneumonia, Fromeréville, France, Nov. 19, 1918.

Frederick C. Colston was the son of Frederick M. Colston and Clara C. Colston, and brother of George A. Colston, John A. Colston, Mrs. Hugh H. Young, Mrs. John B. Whitehead, Mrs. Wyatt W. Randall, and Mrs. Wm. Ellis Coale.

He received his early education at the University School, Baltimore, and the Lawrenceville School, N. J. He then attended Yale University, graduating in the class of 1904, later

taking the law course at the University of Maryland, where he received his diploma in 1906. From 1906 until the outbreak of the war he was a member of the law firm of Venable, Baetjer & Howard.

Captain Colston was a former member of Battery A, and obtained his discharge to become a member of the First Officers' Training Schol at Fort Myer, from which he graduated with the rank of Captain. He spent the winter of 1917 at Camp Lee, Virginia, leaving for overseas service with the Eightieth Division, to which his regiment was attached and he was in nearly all of the important actions on the Argonne front during the last six months of the war.

There are few Baltimoreans who had more friends or whose interests and sympathies were more selected than those of "Fred" Colston, as he was known to his intimates. He had achieved national reputation as tennis player, first at Yale, where he distinguished himself in intercollegiate matches and later in tournaments, notably those at Newport and Longwood. For several years he held the tennis championship of Maryland, and he was considered at one time to rank fifth among the amateur players of the country. He was one of the most promising young lawyers in Baltimore and devoted much attention to his profession. At the same time he found it possible to enter into many social pleasures and to cultivate a real taste and discriminating appreciation for all that was best in music and art.

He died of pneumonia eight days after the armistice and it is thought by his family that the hardships incident upon the last days of the battle had probably undermined his strength. He was buried at Fromeréville, France.

Cyril Augustine Emory, Private, Battery B, 128th Field Artillery, 35th Division.

Born in Baltimore, Md., 1891.

Killed in action, Charpentry, France.

Cyril Augustine Emory was the only son of Augustine Walsh Emory and the late Rose Cassidy Emory and brother of Mrs. Bruard L. Maguire.

He received his early education at Calvert Hall, Baltimore, and on his graduation, entered Loyola College going thence to Niagara University of Niagara Falls, New York. In the spring of 1912, he enlisted in the army and was assigned to the 13th Cavalry serving on the Mexican border for three years, being honorably discharged from the service in January, 1915 at El Paso, Texas. On his return to Baltimore he became associated with the firm of G. A. Hax & Company remaining with them until enlisting in the Field Artillery February 6, 1918. While he was in Baltimore he was a member of the Immaculate Conception Church and also a member of the Baltimore Council, Knights of Columbus, and an active member of the Christmas Club.

Due to his previous military experience, Private Emory was soon sent to France as a member of Battery B, 128th Field Artillery, leaving New York on May 20th and arriving in England, June 4th. From England the battery moved to Fénain, France, at which place they were trained and became efficient in the 75mm. machine gun. Leaving this area on August 15th they proceeded to Gérardmer (Vosges Sector) and on the 21st went into their first gun position. During the next two months Private Emory saw active service both on the St. Mihiel and the Argonne Sector.

On the afternoon of September 20th near Charpentry while fusing and carrying ammunition he was struck in the temple by a flying shell fragment. Private Emory was buried in a courtyard at Charpentry by Father Tiernan of the 129th Field Artillery. A small lot containing about thirty Americans is marked at that village and a cross has been placed over the grave by his comrades.

German Horton Hunt Emory, Major, 320 Infantry.

Born ———.

Killed in action, November 1, 1918.

German H. H. Emory was the son of the late William H. Emory and Mrs. Emory of "Grey Rock," Baltimore County, and brother of William H. Emory, Jr., John Brooks Emory, Laura Hunt Emory, Mrs. William Westervelt, and Mrs. S. Proctor Brady. His wife was Miss Lucy S. Stump. She survives him, with their three children, German H. H., Jr., Richard, and Morris Soper Emory.

Major Emory was educated at schools in Baltimore, and at the Hill School, near Pottstown, Pa., and then entered the law school of the University of Maryland. He was graduated from that institution before reaching 21 years of age. He had immediate success at the bar, and for a time was Assistant City Solicitor. About eight years ago he formed a partnership with Morris A. Soper, now Chief Judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City. When Judge Soper went on the bench, Major Emory became a member of the firm of Frank, Emory & Beeuwkes, his associates being Eli Frank and C. John Beeuwkes. Major Emory was offered the Democratic nomination for Judge of the Supreme Court last year. He had entertained for several years an ambition to go on the bench, but he declined to become a candidate, stating to the lawyers who called on him that he expected to enter the Army. That was at the time when he had applied for the Fort Myer camp.

Major Emory was one of the few men who came out of the first officers' training camp with captaincies. He was ordered to Camp Lee, Va., where he spent nearly a year. While at Camp Lee, he was promoted to Major. In the late spring, when troops were being rushed to France his contingent was sent over.

On November 1, 1918, he was killed while leading his battalion up the north slope of the Ravine aux Pierres through heavy machine gun and shell fire.

For his extraordinary heroism during the attack he was awarded the D. S. C. on November 20, 1918.

All of the local courts which were in session adjourned in respect to his memory and memorial services were held in the United States District Court.

Charles Joseph Holmes, Ensign, U. S. Navy.

Born at Boston, Mass., August 16, 1873.

Lost on Navy collier "Cyclops."

Charles Joseph Holmes, son of the late Walter Holmes and Mary Holmes, of Liverpool, England, is survived by his wife, Iva Ami Holmes and three boys, Harold N., J. Milton, and Charles Joseph. He also was the brother of Alfred S. Holmes.

First went to sea when he was eleven years old as a midshipman on the ship Stratton Audley, where he served for six years, until he reached the position of chief mate. When he left this ship he became Captain of the sailing ship "Glory of the Seas." Made run from Shanghai, China, to New York in 72 days, a record never equalled before or since. Later went to the Great Lakes and served two years on the Charlemagne Tower, Jr., then took command of the steamer Calluta, the largest freighter on the Lakes. During the war between Hayti and Santo Domingo he was Admiral of the Haytian Navy and as such defeated the Navy of Santo Domingo. During the winter of 1896-1897, Captain Holmes was in command of the filibuster Libre, carrying arms and ammunition from the United States to Cuba. Went to Alaska in 1907 with some of the first gold-hunters. Was Captain of the Royal Mail steamer, "Willie Irging," carrying mail on the Yukon River from Dawson to White Horse Rapids. Later commanded the yacht Ialer on the Great Lakes which went down in a cyclone with many of those on board. After this went on a treasure-hunting expedition to St. Pierre, Martinique and other West Indian ports. Later took up newspaper work and made a second gold-hunting trip to the South Seas.

At the outbreak of the war he enlisted in the Navy and was soon appointed boatswain, acting in this capacity for six months

when he was promoted to the rank of ensign and assigned to the collier, Cyclops, which was lost at sea between March 4 and April 15, 1918.

Walter J. Rogers, Sergeant, 313th Infantry.

Born at Baltimore, Md., October 2nd, 1895.

Killed in action, Montfaucon, France.

Walter J. Rogers was the son of William C. Rogers and Lillian May Rogers and brother of Edwin A. Rogers, Mrs. Stella Nedwell and Edna Lackard.

At the time of his induction into the service he was a machinist at the Bartlett Hayward plant where he had been employed since 1914. He reported to Camp Meade on September 28, 1917 being amongst the first contingent of drafted men to report. Immediately being assigned to Co. L, 313th Infantry. After nine months' training he was sent overseas as Sergeant having been twice promoted.

He was killed exactly one year after entering the service at Montfaucon, France, while gallantly leading his company up the north slope of Mont Faucon, he having taken charge of the company due to the fact that all the officers had either been killed or wounded.

Raymond Edgar Ross, Private, 313th Infantry, Co. G.

Born at Aldino, Harford Co., Md., March 22, 1895.

Killed in action at Montfaucon, France, October 14, 1918.

Raymond Edgar Ross, son of S. Lindley Ross and Ada Wonders Ross of Hartford Co., Md., and brother of Roy W. Ross, Shirley L. Ross, Bertha E. Ross, Hazel G. Ross, Lena A. Ross, and H. Ellsworth Ross.

His early life was spent on his father's farm in Harford Co., Maryland where he continued to reside until his twenty-second birthday at which time he obtained a position as mechanic in

the Bartlett & Hayward ammunition plant, remaining there until drafted the latter part of May, 1918. He was sent to Camp Meade and assigned to the 313th Infantry. After a six weeks' course he sailed for France on the Leviathan, July 8, 1918 arriving at Brest, July 15.

Due to his adaptability he was made a scout and served as such with absolute fearlessness and made a fine record as a soldier. He was killed in action at Montfaucon, October 14, 1918.

William Matthew Ruark, Corporal, Machine Gun Co., 110th Infantry.

Born at Cambridge, Md., 1890.

Killed in action, October 4, 1918.

William Matthew Ruark was the son of William W. Ruark and brother of Luke W. Ruark, Beulah M. Ruark, Julia S. Ruark, and Olive Ruark.

He received his early education in the public schools of Cambridge, Md., and at the age of ten he entered Goldey College, Wilmington, Del., graduating in 1910. For two years he remained in this city when his firm transferred him to Chester, Pa., in which city he remained until enlisting in the National Guards of Pennsylvania, June 1917. For one year he went through intensive training at Augusta, Georgia, sailing for France in August 1918.

Corporal Ruark after a short intensive training in France was assigned to the 110th Infantry and was in the heaviest of the fighting in the Argonne offensive, fighting for eight days and nights without rest. After the 110th obtained a two-day rest they were ordered back into battle. On the second day at dawn Corporal Ruark was killed instantly by a bursting shell, October 4, 1918.

JOHN READING SCHLEY, 1st Lieutenant, Aviation Signal Corps Service, U. S. A.

Born in Frederick, Md., October 12, 1894.

Killed at Issoudun, France, October 22, 1918.

John Reading Schley, was the son of Steiner and Lililan F. (Kunkel) Schley. His paternal grandparents were Dr. Fairfax and Anne Rebecca Louisa (Steiner) Schley, and his maternal grandfather was John Baker Kunkel of Catoctin Furnace. On his mother's side he was descended from John Reading, one of the Colonial Governors of New Jersey. His mother and a sister survive him.

He received his early education at the Frederick Academy, legally known as Frederick College, from which he was graduated at the head of his class in 1912. He completed his preparatory course at Mercersburg, (Pa.) Academy, where he was graduated in 1915. As a boy he became a member of the Evangelical Reformed Church of Frederick and he was much interested in the work of the Y. M. C. A., spending several summer vacations at a camp conducted by one of the Secretaries of that organization on Lake George, N. Y. He was strong, well built, and excelled in athletic sports. Popular among his associates he was high-minded and honorable. In the autumn of 1915, he entered Lehigh University, expecting to take a four years' course in electro-metallurgy. He was initiated into the Sigma Phi Fraternity. At the end of his freshman year, trouble with his eyes caused him to intermit his studies and to take up work in one of the foundries in South Bethlehem, Pa.

War with Germany was declared on April 6, 1917 and on April 12 he enlisted in the New York Naval Reserves as coxswain on a submarine chaser. He became very weary waiting to be placed on active duty and, at his request, he was transferred to the Aviation Signal Corps Service at Fort Myer, Va., on August 18, 1917. He was then sent to the United States School of Aeronautics at the Georgia Institute of Technology at Atlanta and received his diploma as flying cadet, from the Department, on October 19, 1917. On October 26, he was sent

to France to be trained to fly but as no American aeroplanes were in France and no arrangements had been made with the French government to supply them, he was held in camp, at Tours and St. Maxient, until the spring of 1918, when arrangements were made to train him and other flying cadets on the French flying fields. He was commissioned First Lieutenant on May 18, 1918 and spent the summer and autumn at Chateauroux and Issoudun. He returned from a short leave spent on the Riviera, and was instantly killed at Issoudun on October 22, 1918, when his machine struck the ground on his return from a practice flight.

NOTES

Through the kindness of Professor Archibald Henderson, of the University of North Carolina, we are able to identify another of the persons mentioned by Dr. Henry Barnard in his narrative of his travels in the South Atlantic States in 1833, which was recently printed in the *Magazine*. On pages 336 and 337 of Volume 13 in the number for December 1918, reference is made to Mrs. General Street and her granddaughter, at Salisbury, N. C. The name Street is evidently mistakenly read for Stiele or Steel. Mrs. Steel was the widow of General John Steel, who was a member of Congress and Comptroller of the United States Treasury under Washington, Adams and Jefferson, and died in 1815. Mrs. Steel died on August 19, 1843. Her granddaughter, born December 30, 1819, was Mary Steel Ferrand.

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MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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ROBERT SMITH AND THE NAVY

GEORGE E. DAVIES

ROBERT SMITH, born, Lancaster, Pa., 1757; died, Baltimore, Md., November 26, 1842; Secretary of the Navy, July 9, 1801, to April 1, 1809. Appointed Attorney-General March 3, 1805, to August 7, 1805, but continued to act as Secretary of the Navy. Secretary of State from March 6, 1809, to March, 25, 1811.

Much has been written of John Barry, Paul Jones, and Edward Preble; these are our Naval heroes. Much less has been written of the men who made it possible for these Captains to win their victories. Every naval victory is based upon preparation in men and ships; in money and supplies; in Navy Yards and guns. In this preparatory work in our early Navy, Robert Smith is prominent. He was the second Secretary of the Navy and it was under his direction that we waged one war and prepared for a second.

In 1801, Thomas Jefferson was elected the third President of the United States, and a new party came into power. It has often been said that this party, the Republican, found its greatest strength among the land-owning gentry of Virginia. But there was also a commercial element in this new party

which demanded representation in the party councils. Baltimore and Philadelphia at this time ranked third and fourth in the size of their commerce, and each of them had returned Republicans to the Seventh Congress; so it was natural that Jefferson should offer the position of Secretary of the Navy to the acknowledged leader of the Maryland Democracy, Samuel Smith.

There were personal as well as political reasons for this offer. Samuel Smith was one of the largest ship owners on the Atlantic Coast. The "Peggy," the "Sally," and the "Unicorn" [1] bore their owner's flag to Leghorn, London, and Cadiz, and brought back news and numerous casks of wine, both of which Samuel Smith shared with his friend, the new President. Judged by the standard of that time, Samuel Smith was well qualified to fill the post offered him, but he chose to decline the offer, stating that his duty "to his constituents and to his private affairs" made this necessary.[2] Instead, he suggested the name of John Mason, or "if no merchant would accept—a gentleman from some other profession," evidently having in mind his brother Robert. A few days later he suggested the curious arrangement that was finally adopted.[3] Henry Dearborn, the Secretary of War, was appointed acting Secretary of the Navy, but did none of the work. Samuel Smith, without any appointment whatever, and without salary, acted as Secretary of the Navy. Meanwhile, the place was offered to two Philadelphia gentlemen, and on their refusal, to Robert Smith.[4]

It was this delay in filling the place that enabled Henry Adams, the historian of this period, to say that Robert Smith was "an amiable and respectable person, but not of much weight, except through his connections by blood or marriage." [5] These are hardly fair words to apply to a man of forty-four,

[1] Baltimore Customs "Registry," 1800-1809.

[2] J. MSS., Mar. 17, 1801, s. 2, v. 76, No. 66.

[3] J. MSS., Mar. 20, 1801, s. 2, v. 76, No. 76.

[4] J. MSS. Mar. 24, 1801, s. 1, v. 8, No. 79; also Mar. 26, Mass. State Hist. Soc., J. MSS., v. 1, s. 7, p. 97.

[5] Adams: Gallatin: 277.

who had acquired the largest admiralty practice of his time,[6] who had been offered the position of Judge of the Supreme Court of Maryland, and who had had ten years' experience in the Maryland Assembly. Perhaps Robert Smith's best qualification for his new office lay, as Jefferson phrased it, "not in his reading of Coke-Littleton—but in the fact, that from his infancy he must have been so familiarized with naval things, that he would be perfectly competent to select proper agents and to judge of their conduct." [7] Jefferson's expectations seem to have been fulfilled, for Goldsborough says of him, "he was particularly happy in discovering the merits of the most promising young officers, and in bringing forward our Decaturs, Sommers, Lawrences, Trippes, and Perrys." [8]

When the Republicans took office, they found that they were not as free to carry out their naval plans as they had fancied. Our Navy, at the close of the war with France, consisted of thirteen frigates and seventeen smaller vessels. By the law of 1800, Congress authorized the sale of all but six of the frigates, and Benjamin Stoddert, the Federalist Secretary of the Navy, had by April 1st fulfilled this provision of the law, receiving for the twenty-five ships sold some $275,000. Thus the policy, which naval writers have often attributed to Jefferson, was in reality the policy of the Federal party. This reduction of the Navy, considered at the time a great mistake, was in reality a wise move; for the vessels sold were mainly converted merchantmen which were not strong enough to bear the long 24-pound cannon and carronades which were just then coming into use.[9]

One important question that confronted the new Government was: the disposal of the small remnant of a Navy that was left. Under the law, only three frigates might be retained in active service. To what point, then, should they be sent? Gallatin's answer to this question was typical of the man. He believed

[6] Balt. Dist. Ct. Rcds. 1799-1800.
[7] J. MSS. s. 1, v. 8, No. 140a, July 9, 1801.
[8] Naval Chron. 212.
[9] J. MSS., s. 3, v. 1, No. 120.

that the most pressing need of the Government was the payment of its debts. A government, he argued, should be run like a private business and should have no debts. A Navy was a useless luxury. "Spain," he said, "had a Navy, but no commerce; while Holland, without a Navy, had large commercial interest.[10] On the other hand, Robert Smith declared again and again that our best policy lay in maintaining a large naval force. "Such a nation as Spain would not have dared to have committed such aggressions against our rights had she not been under the impression that we were utterly unprepared for war." [11] At another time he writes: "Peace will only come with fear, and that can only be excited by a respectable squadron. I am inclined to believe that nothing but a formidable squadron will prevent all the Barbary powers from making war against us. A feeble force will subject us to the suspicion of purchasing a peace." [12] Jefferson maintained an attitude of neutrality on this subject. Though he had pledged that the Navy should not be further reduced, he liked to humor Gallatin's economical foibles. On the other hand, he allowed Smith to carry on his plans practically without a check. The result of this division in the Cabinet was unfortunate: Smiths' recommendations for supplies were usually cut down by half; and, when he persisted in carrying out his plans, we see the unhappy Secretary of the Treasury, bitterly complaining that he had no means of raising the money. The Government actually waged a foreign war at a distance of 3,000 miles from home on an appropriation that was meant to cover only the maintenance of three frigates upon our own coast. The figures for a single year will illustrate how badly this financial game of cross purposes worked: in 1803, Congress appropriated $114,000.00 for oak timber for new frigates; $174,000.00 was spent; for gunboats, there was a deficit of $46,000.00. There was a total deficit of $306,000.00 in an expenditure of $1,215,000.00, or about one-fourth of the

[10] Adams: Gallatin: 157.
[11] J. MSS., s. 3, v. 2, No. 54. Sept. 9, 1805.
[12] J. MSS., s. 3, v. 1, No. 38. Sept. 4, 1802.

total. These figures may be taken to show either bad management on the part of the Treasury or of the Navy, according to the sympathies of the writer, but in either case, they show bad team work in the Government.[13]

To return to our question—the disposal of our fleet—it was finally decided to send the squadron to the Mediterranean. At that time we sent about 100 ships a year to Italy and to Smyrna.[14] To protect them we paid the Barbary powers about $100,000.00 a year. To Algeria we paid an annuity of $21,000.00. Biennially, we paid $17,000.00 and, besides all this, there were lesser fees of $5,000.00. As General Smith explained in a letter to Commodore Truxton: "The object of the expedition was instruction to our young officers—and because it was conceived that a squadron cruising in sight of the Barbary powers would have a tendency to prevent them seizing on our commerce whenever passion or a desire of plunder might incite them thereto." [15] On May 20th, the final instructions were sent to Commodore Dale, who commanded this, the first squadron ever sent out to a foreign station: "It is the positive command of the President"—the words are significant of the spirit of independence which was to animate our new Navy—"that on no pretence whatever are you to permit the armed vessels under your command *to be detained or searched,* nor any of the officers or men belonging to her to be taken from her, by the ships of any foreign power." [16] In addition, Dale was to cruise along the Barbary Coast, returning in December if no one of the powers had up to that time declared war upon us.[17]

It is not the purpose of this paper to follow out the course of the war that followed with Algiers and Tripoli. The unsuccessful voyages of Morris, the final successes of Preble, and Chauncey; the gallant acts of Lawrence, Decatur, and Trippe are all too well known to need further description. It is rather

[13] State Papers: Fin. 2, 350. Mar. 9, 1803.
[14] G. A. Barbary Corsairs: p. 69 and 56.
[15] Sec. Letters to: Apr. 10, 1801.
[16] Sec. Letters to: May 20, 1801.
[17] G. A. Barbary Corsairs; 92.

my intention to show what part the Secretary played in the war by sending out men and supplies.

The department over which Robert Smith presided was not the large and intricate establishment of today. There were only three clerks, two of whom were mainly occupied in copying into large books the letters that were received from the Captains and Contractors. Of incoming letters there are some twenty volumes, of the outgoing as many more; all these Robert Smith read and answered, showing an energy and industry that amazes the student of the present day. Details of the smallest character all had to be decided by the Secretary: an order for 7/8 augers instead of 3/4 inch; the furlough of a sailing master; the remaking of spoiled powder; were all matters which required the Secretary's attention.

There were at that time six Navy Yards. They had been purchased in 1799 at a cost of about $170,000.00. Little had been done to improve them, but a good deal of live oak timber had been collected to season against the day when we should build the new and larger frigates, known as the 74's. This could be found only along the Southern seaboard. Especially famous for its timber was the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and many interesting letters remain to tell us of the difficulties which the contractors faced in cutting the timber, hauling it to tidewater, and in shipping it to the nearest Navy Yard.

In charge of each Navy Yard there was a Navy Agent, whose duty it was to recruit men for ships that were to be put in commission, to buy stores and to guard the Navy's store of timber and hemp. At Baltimore, Colonel Stricker was the agent, and he seems to have been one of the most active of these officers. As the most of the boats sent out stopped at Baltimore for their final outfits, he was kept busy hiring men and buying provisions. The Navy rate for seamen was $10.00 per month, and as the prevailing rate for merchant vessels was $12.00 or $15.00, he was often compelled to offer a bounty of $10.00 or $20.00 for enlistment.

The Navy ration consisted of beef, pork, bread, and beans, and for luxuries, vinegar, cheese and rum. To replace this

beverage by the more patriotic whiskey was one of Robert Smith's first efforts. Because of the large crews which a frigate carried (some 400 men) she could carry provisions with her for little more than three months, and as the voyage to Gibraltar occupied two months or more, our boats were always compelled to revictual there at a large cost. Even if the beef held out, the cheese was sure to run low, and as the crews were inclined to be mutinous when deprived of this ration a wise Captain was compelled to put into port for this luxury.

From Gibraltar to the coast of Tripoli or to Malta the distance is about 1,500 miles; to the coast of Algiers, 500 miles. This gives us the terms of the problem which faced Robert Smith. To maintain a blockade on a hostile coast 1,500 miles from a base would be declared by Naval experts today as impossible. That Robert Smith solved this problem and did it in the face of Congressional opposition served only to render his achievement greater.

Three courses were open to him: he could establish credits at London and allow ship Captains to purchase their supplies at the nearest ports, Malta and Syracuse; he could send out supply ships; and he could established a regular supply depot at Malta to which Government supplies could be sent. All three plans were tried, but it was not till after the third was adopted that we were able to keep ships off the coast of Tripoli for more than a month at a time.

Robert Smith opened our Naval account abroad when on September 11, 1801, he sent to his brother in Baltimore $7,000.00 with instructions "to purchase Bills of Exchange on London at not more than 60 days to the amount of £1,500, which you will remit to Messrs. I. Mackenzie and Andrew Glennie of London, with direction to pass them to the credit of the Navy Department, charging the customary commission upon purchases of this kind." [18]

Later Smith and Buchanan reported that the bills which they had bought from Oliver Brothers were worthless, as the firm on

[18] Gen'l Letters. Sept. 11, 1801, vol. 4.

which the bills were drawn had failed. In this case *the loss was made good by Oliver Brothers.*[19] This evidence is important, because later in 1807, when Gallatin and Robert Smith quarrelled, the Secretary of the Treasury charged that Robert Smith knowingly purchased worthless Bills of Exchange from his brother. The charge was made soon after the failure of Degan and Purviance, our Naval Agents at Leghorn. It is true that as soon as the failure became known in Baltimore, John Donnell and Hollins and McBlair offered bills on Leghorn to the Navy Department,[20] but Robert Smith refused both these offers and this refusal, to the writer's mind at least, disproves Gallatin's charges.

Another example of a similar sort might be given: January 18, 1805, John Donnell wrote to Robert Smith: "I have a ship arrived at Annapolis, a few days since with a cargo of coffee from Mocha; from thence I mean to dispatch her to Leghorn; the proceeds of the cargo will leave in London, after furnishing the ship with capital for another voyage, about $70,000.00. The intention of my addressing you is to know if you will purchase Bills at 60 days sight on Leghorn." [21]

Over a million dollars was in this way sent to our fleet and less than ½% was lost. But the system was at best a bad one. There was no way of checking the Commodores in their expenditures, and both Chauncey and Morris were constantly overdrawing the sums allowed them. At times the Department owed McKenzie and Glennie as much as $150,000. For that reason, in 1803 and 1804, Robert Smith turned to the supply boat system.

The first supply sent out was by the brig Courtney. It left Norfolk, July 6, 1802, and arrived at Malta, October 2.[22] Daniel Bedinger, the Norfolk Agent, had loaded her with an immense quantity of provisions, 400 bbls. of beef, 350 of pork, 120 of flour, 18,000 of suet, 120,000 of bread, 1,300 gals. of

[19] Gen'l Letters. Sept. 26, 1802.
[20] Gen'l Letters. May 18, 1807.
[21] Misc. Letters. Jan. 18, 1805.
[22] Capts. Letters. Oct. 2, 1807.

vinegar, a similar quantity of molasses and 8,000 lbs. of cheese. This voyage is typical of many that followed.[23] The flour and much of the beef spolied on the way.[24] As a result of this difficulty in transportation the system was abandoned in 1805 and the third plan was tried.

Naval agents were appointed at Leghorn, Naples, Syracuse and Malta. Funds were sent to them and they purchased the supplies for the squadron. The Captains drew these supplies upon regular requisitions, as on the Home Station, and in this way the Department was able to control expenditures. For many years this system remained in use and was perhaps Robert Smith's most valuable contribution to the development of the Navy.

The problem of the control of the movements of our ships in the Mediterranean offered another difficulty. The distance which separated the Secretary from his Captain is well pictured in the following letter by Captain Murray:

"Accomplished more than 2/3 of our passage in 12 days, when near the Western Islands, we met with head winds which hung upon us for four weeks, and at times blew very heavy, at other time very baffling and light, so that our progress was slow indeed.—I intended to have called at Gibraltar, but when off that place, the wind blew so heavy from the Westward that I was fearful to trust my ship there with a single anchor." [25]

Since it required six months for letters to come and go, Smith's orders were necessarily of the vaguest sort. "Arrived at Gibraltar, the John Adams and Adams shall convoy the New York (whither, we ask) and if no American vessel wants convoy, the enterprise shall be employed to best advantage" (But how?)[26] Such orders required men of great independence to execute them. Even when the orders were of a more definite sort, as when Captain McNeil was ordered to join Dale's

[23] Gen'l Letters. Dec. 22, 1803.
[24] Misc. Letters. Feb. 25, 1804.
[25] Misc. Letters. Apr. 30, 1802. U. S. Constellation, Murray to R. S.
[26] J. MSS. s. 3, v. 1, No. 49. Mar. 30, 1802.

squadron, the Captain was able to disregard the orders with safety, under the plea that he could not find the squadron.[27]

But there were occasions when Robert Smith could issue prompt and definite orders. During the summer of 1802, Jefferson was at Monticello, four days travel from Washington. For that reason, when bad news arrived from Tripoli, Smith at once ordered Commodore Morris to retain the Boston in the Mediterranean, had the New York prepared in two weeks time, and sent out in her 100 gun carriages, as a gift to the Emperor of Morrocco. And all this was done by the man whom Henry Adams describes as the "weak and amiable Robert Smith."[28]

There were men as well as money difficulties. Congress had limited the number of Captains in the Navy to nine, and of Lieutenants to 36. This law was never obeyed by Robert Smith. In 1805 there were in active service 12 Captains and 57 Lieutenants. The matter came to a crisis in 1806. Trouble with Tunis, as well as with Tripoli, had begun and Robert Smith was anxious to reinforce our squadron by sending out the Chesapeake, but was prevented by a Law of 1806, which limited the number of seamen to 925. Eventually Smith avoided this difficulty by refusing to count the men employed in the Mediterranean as a part of the Naval force.[29] In this way the 412 men for the Chesapeake were secured, but it was not till March 3, 1807, a year later, that Congress legalized his action by authorizing 1,425 seamen for the Navy.[30] Such action on the part of a Secretary might have resulted in impeachment, but Smith evidently preferred personal danger to failure in our Navy.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty in carrying on the blockade of Tripoli is best told in the words of Captain Murray: "We cannot keep their small galleys in port, they being in every respect so like all the small craft that navigate these seas; the best security for our commerce will be to offer convoy from port

[27] G. A. Barbary Corsairs. Oct., 1801.
[28] J. MSS. s. 3, v. 1, No. 30. Aug. 16, 1802.
[29] J. MSS. s. 1, v. 11, No. 184. Apr. 22, 1806. Also Goldsborough.
[30] State Papers, Naval. I, 161.

to port, and if we are still to carry on this kind of warfare, be assured, Sir, that it will be necessary to increase our force with *brigs or gunboats* which will be fully adequate to any force they can have to encounter with" . . .[31] Murray's plan of buying small vessels that could follow the Tripolitan vessels close in shore was followed the next year when two gunboats were leased from the King of Naples, who was on bad term with the Tripolitans. The next year, 1804, Edward Preble used the gunboats in bombarding the Tripolitan forts. That Fall he returned to the United States full of enthusiasm for this new Naval weapon. The gunboat as he pictured it was a small boat, some 47 feet long and with a beam of 18 feet, and a draught of 5 feet. It mounted but one gun, a heavy 24-pounder; a gun, so heavy in proportion to the size of the vessel, that whenever stormy weather was expected the gun had to be unshipped and placed in the hold to prevent capsizing.

The situation which faced the country in 1806 was very similar to that of the present day. Two great European Nations were engaged in a deadly struggle. Both had declared blockades of the enemies coast and were violating our neutral rights. It seemed inevitable that we should declare war on one or the other power. The problem was, how should we defend our long coast line from an enemy's fleet. Robert Smith urged the need of a large mobile force and Admiral Mahan has sustained his judgment that this is our best means of defense. But Jefferson inclined (probably from motives of economy) to the building of gunboats. Such small boats could be built in every harbor of our coast, he urged, and a fleet of one hundred gunboats would be ready while we were building three frigates. Robert Smith was far less enthusiastic. "If you think," he wrote to Jefferson, "that gunboats are indispensably necessary for the protection of merchantment *in calms,* you may purchase or build them and draw upon this Department for the amount."[32] His fears were realized. In the shallow bays of

[31] Capts. Letters. July 30, 1802.
[32] J. MSS., s. 3, v. 1, No. 34. Aug. 31, 1802.

the Barbary Coast or on Lake Ponchartrain, they were successful; but, in the deep harbors of our Atlantic Coast, they soon showed wherein their weakness lay.

Congress, nevertheless, proceeded to authorize the gunboats. In 1803, 15; in 1804, 25; in 1805, 50; and in 1806, 188 more.[33] It is only fair to say that this gunboat building was only part of a general program laid down by Robert Smith for the extension of the Navy. In 1805 he asked that "all the frigates should be put in commission, that we should build the six 74's, already started, and six more to reinforce them."[34] Had this part of his program been followed, we would have been much better prepared for war in 1812 than we actually were.

Something was radically wrong with the Navy. As Commodore Preble angrily declared in 1805: "Of the 11 frigates still retained only one (the Constitution) was in good repair."[35] The truth of the matter was that all the money appropriated by Congress for a number of years had been spent on the Tripolitan war. As a result expenditures on the Navy Yards and on the vessels sent home from the Mediterranean had everywhere been cut down to the last degree. Less than $10,000.00 had been spent in improving the various Navy Yards and this was far too small a sum, as was afterwards found, to prevent the Naval stores from rotting where they lay. Jefferson had determined that Washington should be as much the center of Naval as of Governmental activities. His choice was unwise and illustrates again the folly of civilian interference in technical problems. The Eastern branch contained barely 18 feet of water, and it was only on the highest tide that the frigates could come up to their dock. Still, something might have been made of the place had the plan of Mr. Benjamin H. Latrobe (which Mr. Semmes has so well described) for a dry dock been adopted. Under this plan there was to have been an upper and a lower basin, the former for repairing and the latter for storing ships.[36] But

[33] J. MSS., s. 3, v. 2, No. 54. Sept. 9, 1805; also R. S. MSS., Sept. 16, 1805.
[34] J. MSS., s. 3, v. 2, No. 55. Sept. 10, 1805.
[35] J. MSS., s. 3, v. 2, No. 10. Jan. 1, 1805.
[36] J. MSS., s. 3, v. 1, No. 40. July 13, 1802.

Congress failed to appropriate money for this scheme, and the ships lay rotting in the mud of the Eastern Branch.

The most interesting part of the gunboat building lies in the fact that nearly half of them were built on the waters of the Ohio. The Western attitude of mind is indicated by Henry Ford's to build submarines. Nothing seems easier than to build a boat: in reality, nothing is more difficult. The Western gunboats that were built were "badly built and the seams were uncommonly wide owing to the plank being unseasoned when put on." [37] Half of them were condemned as unfit for use or were partially rebuilt. The decision to build these boats on the Western waters resulted in a greater waste than can be estimated.

There were two reasons why contracts were let to men on the Western waters: one, strategic; the other, political. If war came with either France or Spain, it was feared that New Orleans would be the first point of attack, and gunboats built on the Ohio could reach there sooner than those built on the Coast. It was thought, too, that they could be built for less money. But cheap timber was offset by the high cost of labor, and in addition all the rigging and ironwork had to be carried over the mountains on muleback. A gunboat which cost $7,000.00 in Baltimore, cost $12,000.00 in Cincinnati.

The real reason was a political one. Kentucky was supposedly rebellious: Aaron Burr was mysteriously moving up and down the Ohio. It was thought that if contracts were let to staunch Republicans in that part of the country, that these men would serve as rallying points to hold Kentucky safe. When it was finally decided to arrest Burr, orders for his arrest were sent to Matthew Lyon, to Henry Carberry and John Smith, all of whom had been engaged in building gunboats. They obeyed the orders; Burr's scheme failed; and thus perhaps the building of the Western gunboats was justified.[38]

Meanwhile, British frigates were hovering on our coast and

[37] Capts. Letters. Sep. 4, 1806.

[38] Misc. Letters. Jan. 15, 1807. J. MSS., s. 3, v. 2, No. 31, Jun. 11, 1805.

Robert Smith was compelled to pray that "some strong equinoctial wind might force them for a time from our coast." [39] The next year, 1805, there were Spanish pirates on the coast. The supply ship *Huntress* was taken within the waters of the Chesapeake and had to be ransomed from the pirates.[40]

While our coast was thus bared of defence, Robert Smith had collected in the Mediterranean the largest fleet that was to be gathered under a single flag until the days of the Civil War. It was not failure against Tripoli that induced us to make peace in the Mediterranean, but the desire to protect our own coast. This desire was increased by the fear of a war with England. The Chesapeake affair took place on July 7th and a week later the final orders for the withdrawal of our fleet were sent. But it was not till six months later that Robert Smith was relieved of his anxiety for the fleet, by the arrival of the last of Captain Chauncey's vessels at Baltimore.[41] [42]

The Affair of the Chesapeake deserves more than a passing mention; from an American point of view, it was a shameful affair. An American frigate (the *Chesapeake*) had been fired upon by a British man-of-war. Four of the *Chesapeake* crew had been removed by force. It did not seem possible that war could be avoided. The cause of this outbreak was the presence on the *Chesapeake* of four men whom the British claimed as deserters from the *Melampus*. It has generally been assumed that the British had no justification for their action.

But a study of the records shows some curious facts. Robert Smith had ordered that the case of the three men in question shoul dbe investigated before the *Chesapeake* sailed.[43] Capt. Barron of the *Chesapeake* had written to Robert Smith before sailing that he was deficient "nearly one hundred men in our crew—who had deserted." [44] Furthermore, when Robert Smith

[39] J. MSS., s. 3, v. 2, No. 6. Sep. 14, 1804.
[40] J. MSS., s. 3, v. 2, No. 23c, Jun. 12, 1805; No. 24, Jun. 24, 1805.
[41] G. A. Barbary Corsairs, 223.
[42] Letter Book, Jul. 14, 1807.
[43] Paullin: Rogers, 184.
[44] Capts. Letters: Jun. 11, 1807.

issued his orders (Nov. 17, 1807 [45] that "all aliens should be discharged from our ships," Stephen Decatur hastened to protest that it was impossible to determine the nationality of our sailors. When the *Constitution* reached Baltimore, her crew consisted of 419 men. Of these, 241 claimed that they were Americans, 52 were English, 97 were Irish, and the rest were of various nationalities.[46] It is no wonder that with these facts against him, Secretary of State Madison found it hard to maintain his claim for indemnity for the men of the *Chesapeake*. Jefferson had decided on the policy of Embargo, and Non-Importation, in preference to war, and from this time on till 1812 the Navy acted as a police to prevent violations of the Embargo.

Robert Smith's order of June 6, 1808, to Stephen Decatur is typical of this exceedingly unromantic period: He is to proceed to St. Mary's, Ga., where there is a "combination between some American citizens and British subjects for carrying of supplies and introducing British goods into this country." [47] Deer Island, off the Maine Coast, was another of these obscure points to which British vessels came to receive American produce in this illegal way. The practice was hard to stop, and the despised gunboats here made themselves useful. In shallow bays and inlets from Passamaquody to Beaufort, they guarded the shore and checked the illegal traffic.

The special permissions issued by the Secretary of the Treasury, allowing vessels to sail in spite of the embargo, did not make this policing any the easier. In 1808 there were at Baltimore at least 20 such cases of evasions of the law which the Navy could not prevent.[48] That these boats were sent to Vera Cruz to bring back specie; that this money was sent to England and helped to maintain our balance of trade does not alter the fact that Albert Gallatin was violating the law.[49] As in the quarrel between Gideon Welles and Chase in 1862 over the

[45] Capts. Letters: Nov. 17, 1807.
[46] Capts. Letters: Jan. 13, 1808.
[47] Letters to Capts. Jun. 6, 1808.
[48] Balt. Customs "Departures." Also Letters to Captains, Dec. 28, 1808.
[49] S. S. to A. G. July 19, 1807.

issue of permits to trade in cotton, the Navy stood for a strict enforcement of the law, while the Treasury stood for its evasion. Such action on the part of Gallatin could only have caused trouble in the Cabinet.

It has always been the policy of the Navy to aid inventors and men who were pushing forward new industries. In this, as in so many other Naval activities, Robert Smith established a precedent. Before the Revolution, Paul Revere had been a manufacturer of copper in a small way. In 1801, he applied to Robert Smith for a loan of $10,000.00 to enable him to procure machinery for rolling the copper into sheets. This was granted and after several years of struggle, the Navy was able to sheathe its vessels with American copper manufactured in this country.[50] In a similar way encouragement was given to the Du-Pont Powder Works; the Roosevelt Copper Plant; and to the Mt. Pleasant Iron Foundry, where Samuel Hughes cast shot for the Navy.[51] In Kentucky the building of the gunboats stimulated the manufacture of "iron, tar, tools, and liquors."

About the same time Robert Smith secured $5,000.00 for Robert Fulton's experiments with torpedoes. Fulton's idea was essentially that of the modern torpedo. A small, swift boat, aided by oars, was to carry the torpedo close to the vessel which was under attack. Once within range the torpedo was to be fastened to the doomed vessel's side by means of an ordinary harpoon. In that day of wooden vessels and expert whaling masters, this was no mean weapon; and this weapon, through the agency of Robert Smith, belonged to the United States.

The writer realizes that he has not been able to draw a personal portrait of his hero. Robert Smith left few personal letters and contemporary opinion is silent with regard to his work as Secretary of the Navy. Only two accounts of him have come down to us. The one by the French Ambassador, Serurier, pictures Robert Smith, then Secretary of State, as the equal of Gallatin; the other, by Randolph of Roanoke, pictures Robert

[50] Misc. Letters. Apr. 17, 1801.
[51] Misc. Letters. Mar. 18, 1805.

Smith as quailing in ignorance before Randolph's questions, "like a whipt schoolboy." This last picture like all pen sketches by Randolph can not be accepted by the modern writer with any degree of veracity on account of Randolph's well-known love of exaggeration, and invective. The possible explanation is that Robert Smith preferred, for Departmental reasons, not to answer Randolph's questions.[52]

When Robert Smith left the Department, the officers united in wishing him well, and in thanking him for his nine years of service. Commenting on this, James Fennimore Cooper says: "He rendered himself justly popular with the service . . . . and left behind him the feeling that (the interests of the Navy) were intrusted to one well disposed to serve his country and the Navy." [53] Jefferson bade him good-bye with a thought of the many years in which they had been "connected in service and in society" and thanked him for "the aid and relief in an important part of the public cares." [54]

The writer's own opinion of Robert Smith is one of sincere respect. With inadequate means, he waged a successful war abroad which trained our young officers for the later War of 1812. He made one great mistake, it is true, in not opposing the policy of gunboat defence, but it must be remembered that this policy was urged on him by Jefferson and others and was adopted with reluctance, and even from this policy benefit was derived in the days of Kentucky's unrest and New England separatism. Had Robert Smith's energy not been diverted by this unfortunate policy, he would have been *remembered* as one of the greatest of our Secretaries. As it is, in one of the most trying periods of our country's history, he kept alive a proper *esprit de corps,* and to the last remained popular with the severest of all Navy critics—the officers and men.

The lack of success of the last part of his administration has been attributed to the weakness and faulty organization of the

[52] Adams Life of Randolph; p. 211, R. to Nicohlson.
[53] J. F. C. Navy, I, 301.
[54] J. MSS., s. 1, v. 12, 796. June 10, 1809.

Department.[55] The writer believes rather that they should be attributed to the lack of harmony and confidence between Robert Smith and Gallatin. Jefferson's farewell letter closed with the wish that in the new administration peace and harmony might prevail. How far that wish was fulfilled is still an unknown chapter.

IN MEMORIAM

Compiled by John C. Fell

III

Francisco Augusta Anza, Private, 19th Battalion, Middlesex Regt.

Born at Puerta Plata, Santo Domingo, West Indies, October 6, 1896.

Killed at Archiet-le-Grand, France.

Francisco Augusta Anza was the son of J. C. Anza and Louisa Anza of Puerta Plata, Santo Domingo, West Indies, and brother of Jose B. Anza, Luis Anza, Mana T. Anza, and Mrs. Angela Progson of New York. He was the husband of Marguerite K. Anza of Port Deposit, Maryland.

He received his early education in European countries, coming to the United States in 1909. He then spent three years at Tome Institute, Port Deposit, Md. On graduation from this institution he became associated with the firm of Charles Hires Mfg. Co., Philadelphia, Pa., where he was employed in the chemical laboratory. He left this position to enlist in the British Army.

In March, 1916, he enlisted in the British Army at Liverpool, England. After a short period of training he was sent to the western front with the 19th Battalion, Middlesex Regiment, where he saw active service until he was badly wounded

[55] G. A. Barbary Corsairs. 216.

in the right leg, in September, 1916. After six months in a hospital he went back to Flanders for four months, when he was again wounded, this time in the head, causing him to remain eight months in the hospital.

Private Anza was then offered a discharge, but refused the same, as he desired to get back into action. In the fall of 1917 he was sent to the Italian front and served there until the spring of 1918, when he returned to France and was mortally wounded on March 24, 1918, when the big spring offensive started toward Paris.

George McIntire Baker, Second Lieutenant, Company I, 313th Infantry, 79th Division.

Born at Chicago, Ill.

Killed at Montfaucon, France, September 26, 1918.

George McIntire Baker was the son of the late Samuel Baker and the late Louise M. Baker and brother of James H. Baker, Katherine B. Houston and Elizabeth B. Symington, all of Rodger's Forge, Md.

His early education was received at the Lawrenceville School, New Jersey, going thence into the banking business in Chicago, remaining there only a short while, when he took up the real estate business in New York, after which he came to Maryland and lived with his sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Symington, of Rodger's Forge, Md.

Shortly after the outbreak of the war he volunteered his services and was sent to the First Officers' Training Camp, Fort Myer, Virginia, graduating as a second lieutenant of infantry in May, 1917. He was assigned to Camp Meade, where he subsequently became a member of Company L, 313th Infantry, 79th Division, sailing with the organization on July 5, 1918.

The following extract from a letter of Lieut. Col. Janney's to his sister fittingly describes his last action:

"I want to tell you how wonderfully George Baker fought

and died. He was commanding his platoon when the word came to go over. He took his platoon on and on without a halt or pause, through wire and trenches and hostile fire. Just as the order to halt was given George's Sergeant was wounded by the machine-gun fire and fell by his side. George refused to go to a safe place and under fire deliberately and tenderly bound up the Sergeant's wounds. Just as he finished two bullets from the same machine gun struck him and he died instantly. His example was an inspiration to his men and they were devoted to him. No one could hope for a finer end, out in front fighting, and even then forgetting his own safety to help a fallen comrade."

Earl Scott Buchanan, Private 135th Machine Gun Battalion of 37th Division.

Born at Barrellsville, Md., February 13, 1896.

Killed at Olsene, Belgium, October 31, 1918.

Earl Scott Buchanan was the son of Howard Buchanan and Elizabeth Buchanan and brother of Alex. R. Buchanan, George D. Buchanan, Wm. E. Buchanan, Walter H. Buchanan and Sarah Kathryn Buchanan.

His boyhood days were spent at Barrellsville, Md., and his early schooling was obtained at the public school nearby. He continued his education until he was 18 years old, when he became interested in the lumber business, going into his father's firm.

On April 26, 1918, he was inducted into the Army by the Local Board of Frostburg, and was sent to Camp Meade, Maryland. After remaining three weeks at this camp he was transferred to Camp Lee, Virginia, being assigned to the 135th Machine Gun Battalion of the 37th Division. After three weeks of intensive training his battalion received orders to proceed to the port of embarkation, leaving Hoboken on June 11, on board the S. S. Leviathan.

Private Buchanan fought with the 135th Machine Gun

Battalion as dispatch carrier in the Baccarat Section until September 25th, when the Division was taken to the North of Verdun, where they were used in the Meuse Argonne offensive. Later they fought at the St. Mihiel Sector at Wieltje Bel, near Ypres, where they were attached to a division of the French Army at the disposition of the King of Belgium. Altho the Division encountered stubborn resistance they advanced to Olsene, where on the morning of October 31, 1918, Private Buchanan was killed while going over the top.

Galloway Grinnell Cheston, First Lieutenant U. S. Air Service to the 206th Aero Squadron, Royal Flying Corps.

Born at West River, Md., May 3, 1896.

Killed in action, Courtrai, Belgium, July 29, 1918.

Galloway G. Cheston was the son of the late Galloway Cheston and Henrietta McCulloch Cheston and the step-son of Commodore T. Porter, U. S. N.

He attended private schools in Annapolis, Maryland, until fifteen years old, when he enrolled at St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland, and would have graduated in June, 1917. He enlisted in the First Officers' Training Camp at Fort Myer, Virginia, May 3, 1917, and after the completion of this course was assigned to Cornell University Ground School, graduating with honors in September, 1917. He then sailed for England, September 17, 1917, where he took the remainder of his training for Pilot. On March 1, 1918, he was commissioned First Lieutenant of Aviation. After finishing this training he was assigned to the 206th Aero Squadron of the Royal Flying Corps, which was located about half way between Boulogne and St. Omer.

Lieutenant Cheston took part in a number of air raids before he was killed, showing extreme bravery and fortitude. One of his comrades relates in the following manner the story

of his death: "The day that 'Chess' did not return our squadron was very hard hit. They set out to bomb Courtrai railroad station and yards, which at that time were at least fifteen miles beyond the front lines. 'Chess' had been having a little engine trouble for two or three days preceding, but it was not serious enough to prevent his crossing the lines. On this raid about 4 P. M. they had to run through a pretty stiff 'archie' barrage, but as they approached the target at about fourteen thousand feet altitude the barrage died away. They dropped their bombs, and as the formation turned it was noticed that 'Chess' was slightly lower than he should have been, but not seriously out of his position in the formation. Just as they were turning they were attacked by about three times their number of Huns, and from there on it was a running fight back to the lines. Several pilots and observers noticed that one machine seemed to be losing altitude, as if the engine was not giving its full power, and it was assumed that the pilot was depressing the nose of his machine in order to keep up his speed and not fall behind the others, thus keeping under the formation for protection. Each machine was engaged in desperate fighting all this time and making for the lines, so that no one really had an opportunity to look about him to see how the others were faring. However, one pilot states that he saw 'Chess'' machine, which was getting lower and lower, though still under control, and the last anyone saw it was surrounded by five or six Huns, and was manoeuvering desperately to get away or beat them, but obviously the odds were too great."

The honors heaped upon some who have returned is only possible by the efforts of those that died, and the glory accorded to them is but the reflected glory of those that were sacrificed.

STANLEY L. COCHRANE, Second Lieutenant, 166th Aero Squadron.

Born at Crisfield, Md., December 14, 1894.

Killed in air battle over the German lines, October 31, 1918.

Stanley L. Cochrane was the son of Arthur B. Cochrane and Amy W. Cochrane and brother of Arthur B. Cochrane, Jr., Ada B. Cochrane and Mary H. Cochrane, all of Crisfield, Maryland.

His early life was spent at Crisfield, Maryland, where he graduated from the Crisfield High School in June, 1911. He then took up the study of law at the University of Maryland, completing his course in June, 1914. From this time until he entered the Army he practiced law at Crisfield, where he also took an active part in Democratic politics.

Stanley L. Cochrane enlisted on May 4, 1917, for instruction at Fort Myer, Virginia, and was admitted to the Officers' Training Camp at Fort Myer on May 8th. After serving the full term of three months he was recommended for the aviation service and was ordered to Cornell University for preparatory training, and on November 11, 1917, sailed for the aviation fields of France to complete his training.

On June 1, 1918, he was commissioned Lieutenant and was assigned for active duty on June 6, 1918, and took part in many air raids, exhibiting remarkable courage and daring.

He was officially connected with the 166th Aero Squadron and his last work was done while stationed in the Argonne Meuse Sector. He met death on October 31, 1918, while participating in a air raid over the German lines. The aeroplane in which he was flying was compelled to leave the formation due to engine trouble and the German pursuit planes in the vicinity immediately attacked him in large numbers and forced his machine to the ground, though not until he had shot down two German planes. Lieutenant Cochrane's bravery in operating the guns even after he was mortally wounded enabled his pilot to escape.

For his action in this battle he was cited for extraordinary

bravery by his commanding officer and was recommended for the Distinguished Service Cross. He was buried at Providors-Sur-Meuse.

Henry Gilbert Costin, Private Company H, 115th Infantry Regiment.

Born at Baltimore, Md., June 15, 1898.

Killed in the Argonne Forest, France, October 8, 1919.

Henry Gilbert Costin was the son of the late Hythron J. Costin and Lizzie Coston and brother of Paul M. Costin, Osborne Costin and Mrs. Miskel McGill, all of Baltimore City. He married Miss Hythron Johnson August 13, 1917, who was the daughter of Capt. G. C. Johnson, of the U. S. Coast Guard.

On his graduation from Baltimore City College in 1915 he joined the firm of J. R. Dunn Mercantile Agencies. After being with this firm for a year he enlisted in the Maryland National Guard June 17, 1916. A few days later the regiment, which was then the old Fifth, left for the Mexican border, where he served for seven months.

On the return of the regiment they were mustered into the Federal Service, then sent to a Mobilization Camp at Anniston, Alabama (Camp McClellan). After a period of ten months training he sailed for France as a member of Company H, 115th Regiment, 79th Division.

On September 17, 1918, Costin and sixty of his companions were caught in a German gas attack while holding a part of the Alsace front and Costin, forgetting his own danger, administered first aid to his comrades before he fell semi-conscious. He was sent back to the hospital and awarded the Croix de Guerre.

He returned to the trenches on October 6, just as the 115th was going into action above Verdun, when two days later he was killed. The Congressional Medal was awarded on recommendation of General Pershing, "for conspicuous gal-

lantry and intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty in action with the enemy near Bois de Consenvoye, France, October 8, 1918." When the advance of his platoon had been held up by machine gun fire, and when a request had been made for an automatic rifle team to charge the nest, Private Costin was the first to volunteer. Advancing with his team under a terrific fire of the enemy artillery machine gun and trench mortar, he continued after all his companions had become casualties and he himself had been severely wounded. He operated his rifle until he collapsed. His act resulted in the capture of about one hundred prisoners and several machine guns.

He succumbed to the effect of his wound shortly after the accomplishment of his heroic deed.

THE LIFE OF THOMAS JOHNSON

Edward S. Delaplaine

Part Third

CHAPTER VI

With George Washington. Endeavors to Promote Navigation on the Potomac

The year 1732, which saw the birth of George Washington and Richard Henry Lee and Thomas Johnson, also witnessed the first step in the development of the western territory of Maryland. For in that memorable year vast areas of the fertile soil in the western part of the province were offered by Charles Calvert, fifth Lord Baltimore, to the subjects residing in tidewater. A number of wealthy men eagerly took advantage of Lord Baltimore's offer. Patrick Dulany acquired the soil upon which the city of Frederick now stands; Charles Carroll, father

of the Signer, secured possession of 15,000 acres in Carrollton Manor; Benjamin Tasker received a patent for Tasker's Chance, embracing over 8,000 acres; and the renowned Daniel Dulany likewise obtained thousands of acres of the fertile soil in the valley of the Monocacy.

The following picturesque description of the forest land along the upper Potomac at the time of the birth of Thomas Johnson has been written by J. Thomas Scharf in his *History of Western Maryland:*

"The early settlers of Maryland and Virginia kept to the navigable streams, and it was many years afterwards before the fertile lands in the valleys in the neighborhood of the Blue Ridge and Alleghany Mountains began to be dotted with the log cabins of an advancing frontier. No pioneer had ventured into these solitudes, whose sleeping echoes were only waked by the scream of the eagle or the whoop of the painted warrior. Neither Gist nor Cresap had yet seen the wilds of Western Maryland. The Potomac then flowed in solitary grandeur for more than three hundred miles through an unbroken wilderness, its gentle surface only disturbed by the wing of the wild-fowl or the dip of the savage paddle."

Sixteen years later all that portion of the colony now known as Western Maryland—the Sixth Congressional District, comprising Garrett, Allegany, Washington, Frederick, and Montgomery counties, as well as much adjacent territory—was erected by the Provincial Assembly as *Frederick County.* Some time between the birth of Thomas Johnson and the establishment of Frederick County by act of Assembly commences the story of the effort to secure an easy means of communication between the Eastern settlements and the West. The narrative begins about the year 1740, when Thomas Cresap, a sturdy pioneer from Yorkshire, England, built himself a fortified stone house near a deserted village of the Shawnees a few miles above the junction of the North and South branches of the Potomac. "The English colonel"—as Cresap was called—was sent to the back country by Charles Calvert to guard the interests of Lord Baltimore against the claims of Lord Fairfax, and in the treaty

of June 30, 1744, between the Six Nations and the Province of Maryland, he is mentioned as the owner of a cabin about two miles above the uppermost fork of the Potomac.

The year 1748, marking as it does the origin of Frederick County, Maryland, also marks the first vision George Washington caught of the western section of Maryland. The future President was born at Wakefield, in Westmoreland County, Virginia; lived from 1735 to 1739 on the estate now known as Mount Vernon, and was taken at the age of seven to a home on the Rappahannock. His father, Augustine Washington, died in the spring of 1743 and in his will devised his estate on Hunting Creek, near Alexandria, to Lawrence Washington, a son of his first wife. This beautiful country seat stretched for miles along the Potomac and bordered the estates of the Fairfaxes, the Masons and other distinguished families of Virginia. Lawrence Washington married the daughter of Hon. William Fairfax, cousin of Lord Thomas Fairfax, in 1743, and erected a substantial mansion upon the highest eminence along the Potomac front of his domain and named the spot "Mount Vernon" in honor of Admiral Vernon, under whom he fought in the South American expedition in 1741-1742. When Lawrence was fairly settled with his bride, little George came as a frequent visitor to Mount Vernon. It was at this time that Thomas Johnson, according to the accepted tradition in the Johnson family, commenced his lifelong friendship with the Father of His Country. Young George had already been a steadfast friend of Richard Henry Lee, a bright lad one month his elder. From earliest childhood Washington and Lee had been intimate and the letters written between them at the early age of nine are supposed to be the very earliest epistles of these American statesmen. On his visits to Mount Vernon, George Washington met the children in the Fairfax family. Lord Fairfax, who had been educated at Oxford but who had been made surly and misanthropic by disappointment in love, was at that time sojourning with William Fairfax on the beautiful estate, "Belvoir," and on the Lord's vast domain young Washington did some of his first surveying, running

the lines with admirable precision. At the age of 16 he was public surveyor of Culpepper County and thenceforward he lived regularly with his half-brother at Mount Vernon. During leisure hours he hunted the fox. The tradition that Thomas Johnson, junior, was a companion and playmate of Washington when about 14 or 15 years of age, is handed down by Mrs. Corra Bacon-Foster, of Washington, D. C. In her admirable paper on the "Ohio Company," which she read on December 14th, 1909, before the Columbia Historical Society, she said:

"Meantime, about 1747, two young gentlemen, George Washington and George William Fairfax, were amusing themselves in surveying fields and outlying lots about Mount Vernon and Belvoir on the lower Potomac; an occasional companion was a slim lad of about the same age with a pleasant, refined countenance lighted by a pair of wonderful dark eyes; he cared little for horses and athletic sports, but was reading law in Mr. Bordley's office at Annapolis; this stripling was Thomas Johnson, Maryland's greatest son. Thus early commenced the lifelong friendship between these men. The cynical Lord Fairfax, who was at the time visiting his cousin, became interested in the surveying and in the young man who arrived at such accurate results, and who he was told had his own fortune to seek. He chose the shy, awkward and overgrown lad for his companion on many excursions, to the amusement of a bright lady of the family, who remarked that the two must be congenial company, 'as the Lord never spoke at all and George only when addressed.'" [13]

When Lord Fairfax sent out an experienced surveyor to explore his territory and locate his northern lines, he employed the two young gentlemen to go along as assistants, paying each the goodly sum of a daily doubloon. Thomas Cresap, being a surveyor, had located the western boundary of Maryland, and in March, 1748, the party of Virginians crossed the Potomac into Maryland to pay their respects to "the English colonel." On Friday, March 18th, according to Washington's diary, the river was six feet higher than usual and was still rising, due

[13] Bacon-Foster, *Patomac Route to the West* (Columbia Historical Society), page 13.

to the heavy rains which were bringing down the melted snow from the mountains. The party camped out in the field at night, and on Sunday evening, finding the river not much abated, they swam their horses over to Charles Polk's, in Maryland, for pasturage; and on Monday morning they paddled over in a canoe and traveled all day in a drenching rain until they arrived at Colonel Cresap's—a distance of 40 miles over "the worst road that ever was trod by man or beast."

In his diary Washington explains how it rained until Wednesday afternoon, March 23rd, when "we were agreeably surpris'd at y. sight of thirty odd Indians coming from War with only one Scalp. We had some Liquor with us of which we gave them Part it elevating there Spirits put them in y. Humour of Dauncing of whom we had a War Daunce." Hence, on this early trip, several months before Frederick County was created, Washington, by "climbing rugged hills, swimming his horse through turbid torrents, sleeping in the open woods beside the lonely camp-fire," not only built up a robust health and a great store of strength and endurance, but also caught his first vision of the upper Potomac and the West. Moreover, Lord Fairfax was pleased with the young surveyor's work and soon appointed him surveyor-in-chief with headquarters at his hunting lodge in the Shenandoah Valley. "In the three years thus occupied," says Mrs. Bacon-Foster, "Washington had constant opportunity to become very familiar with the upper Potomac in its various stages of drouth and high water. He must have often visited the depot of the Ohio Company at Will's Creek and the two-storied, stockaded home of Thomas Cresap."

It was in 1748—the year of Washington's surveying trip—that the famous Ohio Company was organized. And in the following year this company, composed of a small number of wealthy subjects of Virginia and Maryland, secured from King George II, through the Governor of Virginia (the colony which claimed all the territory to the west as far as Lake Erie), a charter and grant to 500,000 acres of land west of the Alleghanies. The Ohio Company acquired the land free of rent for ten years on condition that they select 200,000 acres imme-

diately upon which they were required to erect a fort, maintain a garrison and induce the settlement of one hundred families within a period of seven years. If these terms were complied with, the company was to receive the further grant of 300,000 acres. Thomas Lee, at that time President of His Majesty's Council in Virginia, held two of the 20 shares and was the president of the company. John Hanbury & Company, of London, holding two shares, were the London agents. John Mercer, one of the most distinguished lawyers in America, was chosen secretary and counsel. George Mason was the treasurer. Augustine and Lawrence Washington also held shares. Three shares were held in Maryland. Thomas Cresap became the manager in the field. Upon the advice of Colonel Cresap, Christopher Gist was engaged to select the vast tract of land by actual observation and to endeavor to secure the friendship of the red men. The organization of the Ohio Company was a signal of alarm for the French. The embers of hatred between Great Britain and France, which had been smoldering for many years as a result of conflicting territorial claims, burst forth into a flame when the frontiersmen of these two nations attempted to colonize the Ohio Valley. So the great contest for supremacy between the Courts of Paris and London was destined to be decided in America.

Undaunted, the members of the Ohio Company commenced at once eagerly to explore the country. In 1750 a storehouse was constructed at Will's Creek—the present site of Cumberland—and it was stocked with goods which they ordered from London to be bartered with the Indians. The following year Colonel Cresap selected an Indian to lay out a road from thence to the mouth of the Monongahela. Robert Dinwiddie became Crown Governor of Virginia in 1752 and the next year he heard the news of the imprisonment of a number of British traders and the order of the French military commanders to erect forts from Lake Erie to the headwaters of the Allegheny. All students of American history are thoroughly familiar with the aftermath—how Governor Dinwiddie, now a prominent member of the Ohio Company, picked George Washington to

carry the message of warning to the French against further intrusion of the Ohio Valley. On account of the firm friendship existing from an early age between Washington and Johnson—a friendship which casts illumination upon both characters—it is appropriate at this point to visualize Washington as he appeared on his dangerous mission across the Alleghanies. He has been admirably described at this stage of his career by Mr. Edward S. Ellis in the following words:

"The person whom he (Gov. Dinwiddie) had selected was about twenty-one years old, six feet two inches in height, and the swiftest runner, the longest thrower, the best wrestler, the most skilful horseman, the strongest swimmer, and the finest athlete in all the country round. Besides these striking physical traits, he was truthful, high-minded, a fine soldier and an experienced surveyor, and withal the soul of honor, a person, in short, who from his earliest boyhood lived in accordance with the Golden Rule."

Frederick County, Maryland, it should be noted in this connection, was crossed by Washington in November, 1753, on this memorable journey to Lake Erie, where General St. Pierre, the commander of the French forces in the West, was stationed. France, it will be remembered, claimed the valley of the Ohio by virtue of discovery and occupation; and St. Pierre replied that he was acting under military instructions. Of Washington's return trip, most of the time with Christopher Gist as his sole companion, Mr. Ridpath gives the following vivid description:

"It was one of the most solitary marches ever made by man. There in the desolate wilderness was the future President of the United States. Clad in the robe of an Indian, with gun in hand and knapsack strapped to his shoulder, struggling through interminable snows; sleeping with frozen clothes on a bed of pine-brush; breaking through the treacherous ice of rapid streams; guided by day by a pocket compass, and at night by the North Star, seen at intervals through the leafless trees; fired at by a prowling savage from his covert not fifteen steps away; thrown from a raft into the rushing Allegheny; escaping to an island and lodging there until the river

was frozen over; plunging again into the forest; reaching Gist's settlement and then the Potomac—the strong-limbed young ambassador came back without wound or scar to the capital of Virginia. For his flesh was not made to be torn with bullets or to be eaten by the wolves. The defiant despatch of St. Pierre was laid before Governor Dinwiddie, and the first public service of Washington was accomplished."

Upon reaching Williamsburg, January 16, 1754, Washington made a report to the Governor and Council, and doubtless suggested the great importance—from a military, however, rather than from a commercial standpoint—of opening a communication between tidewater and the western settlements.

Thus, George Washington at an early day conceived the idea of connecting the East and the West. Frequently, he explored the territory of Frederick County along the Potomac and while Thomas Johnson was busily engaged in his work under Thomas Jennings and Stephen Bordley at Annapolis, the young Virginian was gaining a clear and comprehensive vision of the possibilities of the West. The fact must not be overlooked that Frederick Town itself—the seat of Frederick County, near which Thomas Johnson took up his residence during the Revolution to spend the latter half of his life—was quite familiar to George Washington during the days of the French and Indian War. It was at Frederick on the 24th of April, 1755, that Governor Sharpe met General Edward Braddock, Benjamin Franklin and Washington. Mr. Franklin was then the British Postmaster-General of the American Colonies and he came to Frederick to aid in forwarding supplies to the frontier. This was the first time that the Philadelphia philosopher clasped hands with the great soldier-statesman of Virginia.

In the same year Stephen Bordley, Mr. Johnson's legal preceptor, was admitted to the bar of Frederick County, but it was not until five years later—1760—that Thomas Johnson was admitted to practice at Frederick Town. The Frederick County Court was at that time in its very infancy. The lawyers who first put in their appearance at Frederick were Daniel Dulany and William Cumming, who were admitted in 1749, one year

after the county was established. Then came Edward Dorsey and Henry Darnall in 1752. No other lawyers appeared until the arrival of Mr. Bordley, Richard Chase and Lloyd Buchanan in 1755. Five years later came Eastburn Bullit and Thomas Johnson, Jr.

On this trip to Frederick Town in his twenty-eighth year, Thomas Johnson was deeply impressed with the beauties and the wonderful latent resources of Frederick County and it was not long afterwards—on March 20, 1761—that he exhibited his faith in the future of Western Maryland by purchasing a piece of Frederick County land.[14] Whilst it was a small investment—only 6 acres at one pound per acre—the deal was the beginning of a career in realty transactions unparalleled in the land records of Frederick County.

Before the close of the French and Indian War, Mr. Johnson was considering the subject of promoting "water carriage" on the Potomac. About a month before he entered the Provincial Assembly as a Delegate from Anne Arundel County, there appeared in the *Maryland Gazette,* in the issue of February 11, 1762, the following announcement:

"The opening of the river Patowmack and making it passable for small craft, from Fort Cumberland at Will's Creek to the Great Falls, will be of the greatest advantage to Virginia and Maryland, by facilitating commerce with the back inhabitants, who will not then have more than 20 miles land carriage to harbour, where ships of great burthen load annually, whereas at present many have 150; and what will perhaps be considered of still greater importance, is the easy communication it will afford with the waters of the Ohio. The whole land carriage from Alexandria or George Town will then be short of 90 miles; whereas the Pennsylvanians (who at present monopolize the very lucrative skin and fur trades) from their nearest sea port have at least 300: a circumstance which must necessarily force that gainful trade into this channel, should this very useful work be affected; and that it may, is the unanimous opinion of the best judges, and at moderate expense compared with the

[14] Liber G, folio 142.

extraordinary convenience and advantages which must result from it."

The forceful style of this announcement indicates that it might have been written by Thomas Johnson himself. Be that as it may, it is a certainty that Mr. Johnson was associated with Washington from this time—at least one year before the French and Indian War was brought to a close by the treaty of 1763—in the project of making the Potomac River navigable. The communication in the *Gazette* announced that 22 managers had been appointed—11 for the colony of Maryland and 11 for the colony of Virginia—and that subscriptions would be solicited from the public. On the 10th of June, 1762, the *Gazette* contained the following announcement:

"The managers have now the pleasure to inform the public, that subscriptions are filling very fast, and that people in general, but more especially in the back countries, and those bordering on the Patowmack, discover so much alacrity in promoting the affair, that there is not the least doubt that sum will be raised, sufficient to carry on the work by the day appointed for the meeting, 20th of July next."

The promoters of the celebrated Ohio Company, according to Gen. Bradley T. Johnson, assembled at Frederick Town in 1762 and there discussed the ways and means of opening the western lands to tidewater. Many of the wealthiest and most influential men in the Southern colonies became interested in the "affair." Chief among these were Lord Dunmore of Virginia and Governor Tryon of North Carolina, afterwards of New York. They appointed Lawrence Washington manager and George Washington and Thomas Johnson, Jr., then in their thirtieth year, were associated together in the project. Mr. Johnson's brothers were also interested in the company.

Credit is given to Thomas Johnson and his brothers for being the first men in America to advocate the formation of a company for the purpose of improving the navigation of the Potomac River. "Projects for clearing the channels in the Potomac River," says Mrs. Bacon-Foster, "began to be agitated in the

sixties. Probably the Johnson brothers, at Frederick, were the first to suggest organizing a company to improve the navigation. They had early settled in that rich valley, had prospered, were progressive and public-spirited citizens. Thomas Johnson was doubtless interested with them in many enterprises and joined them in the county in 1779. Studying the noble river that sweeps in graceful curves past the valley it was not strange that they should become impatient of the heavy toll to be paid on the wagon transportation to Baltimore of the products of their farms and furnaces, and seek another outlet, so Thomas Johnson appears to have attempted to organize a company to raise the means for improving the navigation of the Potomac."

Shortly afterwards Washington and Johnson heard with amazement and alarm reports of outrages committed by the savages in the western part of Frederick County. After the treaty of Paris brought the contest between England and France to a close, the British traders began again to move westward over the Alleghanies. This vanguard aroused Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, who journeyed stealthily among the tribes and obtained their solemn pledge to massacre the white men in order to put a stop to the encroachments. In June, 1763, the blow was struck.

"Another tempest has arisen upon our frontiers," wrote Washington, "and the alarm spreads wider than ever. In short, the inhabitants are so apprehensive of danger that no families remain above the Conococheague road, and many are gone below. The harvests are, in a manner, lost, and the distresses of the settlements are evident and manifold." In a state of misery and destitution, the fugitives crowded to Frederick Town, where they received food and shelter. The Maryland Assembly convened in the fall of 1763. It was Delegate Johnson's second session. Governor Sharpe pictured the outrages in vivid language, and the Lower House made further provision for the protection of the western settlers.

Even as late as July, 1764, the Indians committed a number of massacres along the Conococheague, and in the same month

an expedition of five hundred men was sent to reinforce Fort Pitt, which had been cut off from all communication with the interior. In this expedition against the Delawares, Mingoes and Shawnees, there were two companies of Maryland volunteers. And the colonel who led them wrote to Governor Sharpe the following November, urging that he request the Assembly to pay these gallant volunteers for their military services. "As such a public spirit ought to be encouraged in our Colonies," said the Colonel, "I beg leave to recommend them to your notice, that they may obtain pay, if possible, from your Assembly."

As a member of the Provincial Assembly, Delegate Thomas Johnson, Jr., was one of the most liberal of all the members in making appropriations. Mr. Johnson deeply appreciated the hardships of the pioneers who ventured out into the Alleghanies. When, for example, a motion was made in the House on the 16th of November, 1765, to make an appropriation to Capt. Evan Shelby as a testimony of the Assembly's appreciation of his "spirited conduct" in the war, Delegate Johnson eagerly voted in favor of the appropriation. The motion prevailed by the close vote of 22 to 19. A motion was then offered by the parsimonious faction that Capt. Shelby should be allowed only 200 pounds. Believing that the appropriation to Capt. Shelby ought not to be restricted to this amount, Mr. Johnson opposed the reduction and voted in the negative. The sum of 200 pounds, however, was all that the House allowed.

About this time commenced a friendship between Thomas Johnson and a Huguenot named Lancelot Jacques. Coming to America as a refugee, Jacques settled at Annapolis, where his industry and inherent business acumen brought him considerable success. Messrs. Johnson and Jacques became associated in business enterprises and together they secured from the proprietor vast tracts of land in Frederick County. They obtained out of the High Court of Chancery a writ of *ad quod damnum,* directed to the sheriff of Frederick County, commanding him, by the oath of twelve men, to inquire into the mineral

lands lying on Green Spring Run, about two miles below Fort Frederick, "as might be the most convenient for setting up a Forge Mill and other conveniences, as shall be necessary for carrying on an Iron Work." The sheriff returned an inquisition to the Court on December 23, 1766. Johnson and Jacques gave security that they would erect a forge mill on the land within the time limited by the act of the Assembly.

The lands acquired by them had been found to contain iron ore, and Johnson and Jacques took up their western tracts, not for speculation, as Dulany, Carroll and other wealthy men of tidewater had done, but to start smelting furnaces. On April 11, 1768, Governor Sharpe countersigned Lord Baltimore's patent for 15,000 acres at Indian Spring (now in Washington County) to the two Annapolitans, as tenants in common; and here Mr. Jacques came to reside, not far from Fort Frederick. They erected Green Spring Furnace and the pig iron which they manufactured here was pushed down the Potomac to George Town by a crew of trusty negro slaves.

Later Mr. Johnson, together with Leonard Calvert, obtained a patent from Lord Baltimore for 7,000 acres of mineral land in Frederick County, constituting the Catoctin Furnace property. Accordingly, about the time of the arrival of Sir Robert Eden to take up the work of proprietary governor, Thomas Johnson, as well as Washington, had become thoroughly impressed with the mineral wealth and the immense productivity of the soil in the valleys of the Monocacy and the Antietam. Both Washington and Johnson were impressed, too, by the utter desolation of the back country. They saw that with the exception of rude trails—and even they were impassible a great part of the year—there was absolutely no means of communication with the country west of the Alleghanies. Naturally, therefore, with clear perception of the future possibilities of the western wilderness, George Washington, in Virginia, and Thomas Johnson, in Maryland, were the leading advocates of the project to make the Potomac River the means of communication between the East and West. The governor and the lgislature of both colonies were exhorted to give backing to the project. But, se-

curing little encouragement from the legislatures of Maryland and Virginia, Thomas Johnson, on June 18th, 1770, during a long recess of the Provincial Assembly of Maryland, sent from Annapolis to Mount Vernon a communication proposing to Washington for his consideration the scheme for premoting the navigation of the Potomac by means of private subscriptions. Washington's reply, found among the papers of the Potomac Company, was loaned to Congressman Andrew Stewart for his report to the House of Representatives in 1826 on the subject of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal.

"The committee," said Congressman Stewart, from the Committee on Roads and Canals, "have obtained possession of a variety of letters, reports, maps, and papers, connected with this subject, in the hand writing of General Washington, extracts of which are annexed to this report. . . . Among the manuscripts referred to, the committee find a report in the hand writing of General Washington, dated in 1754, stating all the difficulties and obstructions to be overcome in rendering the Potomac navigable."[15] The report in General Washington's handwriting is entitled: "Summary of the Reports of Mr. Johnson, Mr. Semple, and George Washington, respecting the navigation of Potomac River." Washington, according to this authority, observed in 1754, the condition of the river from the mouth of Patterson's Creek, to Shenandoah Falls, to Seneca Falls. Mr. Semple reported on the condition of the Potomac from Widow Brewster's—two miles above Great Falls—to Seneca Falls, to Payne's Falls, to the spout, to Harper's Ferry, to Shenandoah Falls, to Fort Cumberland. Mr. Johnson's report is as follows:

"From a little below Fort Frederick, to Caton's gut, little or no obstruction. House's fall, another rift, between that and Antietam, and what is called Sheppard's falls, a little below Shepherdstown, being the only obstructions, and which might easily be removed at very small expence. From Caton's gut to Payne's falls (about five miles)."

[15] *House Reports*, 19th Congress, 1st Session No. 228.

Washington's letter replying to Thomas Johnson's communication of June 18, 1770, is not published either by Ford or Sparks. On account of its importance, it is printed herewith in full:

Virginia, 20th July, 1770.

Sir:

I was honored with your favor of the 18th of June, about the last of that month, and read it with all the attention I was capable of; from that time till now I have not been able to inquire into the sentiments of any of the gentlemen of this side in respect to the scheme of opening the inland navigation of Potowmack, by private subscription, in the manner you have proposed—and, therefore, any opinion which I may now offer on this head will be considered I hope as the result of my own private thinking, not of the public.

That no person concerned in this event wishes to see an undertaking of the sort go forward with more sincerity and ardour than I do, I can truly assure you; and I will, at all times, give any assistance in my power to promote the design; but I leave you to judge from the trial, which before this you have undoubtedly made, how few there are, (not immediately benefited by it,) that will contribute any thing worth while to the work; and how many small sums are requisite to raise a large one.

Upon your plan of raising money, it appears to me there will be found but two kinds of people who will subscribe much towards it. Those who are actuated by motives of public spirit; and those again, who from their proximity to the navigation, will reap the salutary effects of it, clearing the river. The number of the latter, you must be a competent judge of; those of the former, is more difficult to ascertain; for which reason I own to you, that I am not without my doubts of your scheme falling through, however sanguine your first hopes may be from the rapidity of subscribers, for it is to be supposed that your subscription papers will probably be opened among those whose interests *must* naturally incline them to wish well to the

undertaking, and consequently will aid it; but when you come to shift the scene a little, and apply to those who are unconnected with the river, and the advantage of its navigation, how slowly will you advance!

This, sir, is my sentiment, generally, upon your plan of obtaining subscriptions for extending the navigation of the Potowmack; whereas I conceive, that if the subscribers were vested by the two legislatures with a kind of property in the navigation under certain restrictions and limitations, and to be reimbursed their first advances with a high interest thereon, by a certain easy toll on all craft proportionate to their respective burthens, in the manner that I am told works of this sort are effected in the inland parts of England—or upon the plan of turnpike roads; you would add thereby a third set of men, to the two I have mentioned, and gain considerable strength by it. I mean the monied gentry; who, tempted by lucrative views, would advance largely on account of the high interest. This, I am inclined to think, is the only method by which this desirable work will ever be accomplished in the manner it ought to be; for, as to its becoming an object of public expense, I never expect to see it. Our interests (in Virginia, at least), are too much divided. Our views too confined, if our finances were better, to suffer that, which appears to redound to the advantage of a part of the community only to become a tax upon the whole—though in the instance before us, there is the strongest speculative proof in the world to me of the immense advantages which Virginia and Maryland might derive, (and at a very small comparative expence) by making the Potowmack the channel of commerce between Great Britain, and that immense Territory; a tract of country, which is unfolding to our view the advantages of which are too great, and too obvious, I should think, to become the subject of serious debate, but which, through ill-timed parsimony and supineness, may be wrested from us and conducted through other channels, such as the Susquehanna, (which I have seen recommended by some writer) the lakes, &c. How difficult it will be to divert it afterwards, time only can show. Thus far, sir, I have taken

the liberty of communicating my sentiments on the different modes of establishing a fund, but if from the efforts you have already made on the North side of the Potowmack, it should be found that my views are rather imaginary than real, (as I heartily wish they may prove), I have no doubts but the same spirit may be stirred up on the South side, if gentlemen of influence in the counties of Hampshire, Frederick, Loudoun and Fairfax, will heartily engage in it, and receive all occasional sums, received from those who may wish to see a work of this sort undertaken, although they expect no benefit themselves from it.

As to the manner in which you propose to execute the work, in order to avoid the inconvenience which you seem to apprehend from locks, I profess myself to be a very incompetent judge of it. It is a general received opinion I know, that, by reducing one fall, you too frequently create many; but how far this inconvenience is to be avoided by the method you speak of, those who have examined the rifts—the depth of water above, &c. must be infinitely the best qualified to determine. But I am inclined to think, that, if you were to exhibit your scheme to the public upon a *more extensive plan, than the one now printed, it would meet with a more general approbation; for so long as it is considered as a partial scheme, so long will it be partially attended to—whereas, if it was recommended to the public notice upon a MORE ENLARGED PLAN, AND AS A MEANS OF BECOMING THE CHANNEL OF CONVEYANCE OF THE EXTENSIVE AND VALUABLE TRADE OF A RISING EMPIRE;* and the operations to begin at the lower Landings, (above the Great Falls), and to extend upwards to as high as Fort Cumberland; or as far as the expenditure of the money would carry them; from whence the portage to the waters of Ohio must commence; I think many would be invited to contribute their mite, that otherwise will not. It may be said the expence of doing this will be considerably augmented. I readily grant it, but believe that the subscribers will increase in proportion; at any rate I think that there will be at least an equal sum raised by this means,

and that the end of your plan will be as effectually answered by it. G. W.

Despite this reply from Washington—a reply all but encouraging—Mr. Johnson continued with enthusiasm his efforts to clear the Potomac and with the aid of his friend, Lancelot Jacques, secured numerous private subscriptions.

Johnson's scheme of opening the Potomac to navigation is probably the undertaking referred to by J. Thomas Scharf in his "History of Maryland," in Volume 2, at page 258, although the date, 1762, as given by Mr. Scharf is, in the opinion of Mrs. Bacon-Foster, an error. The managers of this company, as given by Scharf, were:

For Maryland—Thomas Cresap, Jonathan Hager, Robert Peter, Evan Shelby, Dr. David Ross, Christopher Lowndes, Benjamin Chambers, John Carey, Casper Schaaf, Rev. Thomas Bacon and Thomas Prather.

For Virginia—Col. George Mason, Jacob Hite, Abraham Hite, James Hamilton, John Hough and John Patterson.

Col. George Mercer and Col. Thomas Prather were elected treasurers.

On August 18, 1770, Rev. Dr. Jonathan Boucher, who was a personal friend of Thomas Johnson and other Assembly leaders and was for some time chaplain of the Lower House, wrote a letter to Washington in which he explained the excellent results Thomas Johnson and Lancelot Jacques were obtaining in the sale of subscriptions of stock at Annapolis. The clergyman also announced in his letter that the two stock salesmen were ready to set off on the morrow for Frederick Town to seek further subscriptions in that town.

"They are still going on," Rev. Dr. Boucher wrote Washington, "with their Subscriptions for clearing the Potomac, and, as I am told, with spirit. Four hundreds pounds are subscribed in this City; nor have they got all they expect. Messrs. Jacques and Johnson set off for Frederick tomorrow, and talk of fixing a day for a general meeting, before they return. Will it be convenient and agreeable to you to attend—

about a month hence, if you have notice in time—at the Spot, *i. e.,* at, or near Semple's?"

The trip to Frederick Town—a long and tiresome journey at that day from the capital of the colony—was made by Mr. Johnson and his French companion in accordance with the announced plans. That they arrived safely at their destination is evidenced by the land records of Frederick County, which show that Thomas Johnson, Jr., of Annapolis, made his appearance on August 22, 1770, before "two of His Lordship's Justices of the Peace for Frederick County."

In the same year Washington sent a letter to Governor Eden pointing out the great benefits that would accure to Virginia and Maryland if the Potomac River were made a channel of commerce between the Atlantic Seaboard and the Western territory. But Thomas Johnson and George Washington and their business associates found out that they were undertaking a gigantic task. The people were apathetic, skeptical, even antagonistic. The Maryland Assembly refused to take any action in support of Johnson's plan and the Virginia House of Burgesses likewise failed to render any assistance. But Washington remained staunch in his conviction that the opening of a communication from tidewater to the great country west of the Alleghanies was vitally important to North America from a social, commercial and political standpoint, as well as from the standpoint of military defense. And Thomas Johnson, too, like the immortal Virginian, looked upon the scheme to make the Potomac River navigable as an altogether patriotic enterprise, second to none in the New World, and although the assemblies of Maryland and Virginia turned a deaf ear to their pleas, Mr. Johnson, like Col. Washington, cherished the idea of connecting East and West with undiminished fervor.

The following letter from Thomas Johnson to George Washington (in which was enclosed a note for Washington's "Lady," from Mr. Johnson's brother, John, then a twenty-six-year-old physician) is presented because it shows not only that the Washington and the Johnson families were by this time on very intimate terms, but also that George Washington and Thomas

Johnson were very closely associated at this period in the enterprise to open the Potomac to navigation and were keeping in constant touch with the proceedings of the assemblies of Maryland and Virginia:

Sir: Annapolis, 26 March, 1772.

I inclose you a letter from my brother John to your Lady. He was at my house last week and intended then to have sent it but the post made so little stay that tho' my brother went to the Office several times he slipped him.—

There were some expenses on the Bill passed last Session in favor of Mr. Semple. It is usual here in imitation of what I think a bad proceeding in England to tax fees on private Bills—this was taxed

To the Speaker —— 6. ——. ——

the Clerk of the Lower House —— 3. ——. ——

common money, i. e., dollars at 7/6—and I believe in the Upper House as much. I should be obliged by your having the money remitted as I have paid part of it and promised to write to you on the subject.

I am sir, Your most humble servant,

Th^{s} Johnson, Jun^{r}.

(*To be continued*)

MRS. B. I. COHEN'S FANCY DRESS PARTY[1]

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1837

[1] Letter from James M. Nicholson to his mother Rebecca Lloyd of "Wye House," wife of Judge J. H. Nicholson.

The invitation cards, several of which are among the papers of Miss Eleanor S. Cohen, grand-daughter of the host and hostess, bear on the face the words of the above caption, and on the reverse "The honor of company is solicited at 8 P. M. Jan. 23d. 1837"

Benjamin I. Cohen, b. 17th Sept. 1797, d. 20th Sept. 1845, was a member of the banking firm of Cohen & Sons; he was one of the founders of the Baltimore Stock Board and its President at the time of his death; he was a botanist and horticulturist, and was a talented amateur violinist. Mrs. Cohen was Kitty Etting, b. 25th Nov. 1788; d. 26th April, 1837.

Baltimore, Feb. 3rd 1837.

My dear Mother.

When I wrote you a few days since, that I would give you some account of Mr & Mrs Cohens Fancy Ball, I thought I was making a promise which could be fulfilled without any difficulty; I supposed I could easily find out all the Characters personated, and would be able to remember, not only how they were supported, but to a certain extent in what garniture they were exhibited. Today however I find my memory considerably at a loss, and am afraid I shall be able to give you but a meagre description. As the Invitations desired, the Guests assembled as near 8 o'clock, as could have been expected. The three Rooms on the first floor were thrown open for the Reception of the Company, the Lady of the house receiving in the large Room on the right hand Side of the Hall as you enter. I need however say nothing to you of the appearance of the Rooms, as I do not know that the furniture was much altered from what you have seen it there. You remember that everything about the house is rich and expensive, and if anything has been added for this occasion, it was all in keeping with the rest. The carpets were up in the two Rooms on the left-hand Side of the Hall for dancing and down every where else. In the Rooms on the right was a beautiful Divan covered with rich silk damask and the Recesses were filled with flowers most tastefully arranged, and Seats of various kinds were arranged around the walls. Refreshments were constantly passing about, borne by servants dressed in liveries suited to the occasion, served up in rich china and cut glass on Silver Waiters. The Rooms were all most brilliantly lighted by Lamps which blazed from amidst bunches of flowers.[2] The Supper Rooms were on the Second Floor, over the large Drawing Room. The principal Table extended the length of the Room decorated with beautiful China, cut glass and Silver all filled with every delicacy to be thought of. In

[2] Both Mr. and Mrs. Cohen were enthusiastic horticulturists and large greenhouses in the rear of the residence supplied the flowers.

the large Recess stood a Second Table decorated in the same style and same Delicacies, as on the first Table. A *Third Table* was in another part of the Room on which solid Refreshments were served consisting of every thing to please the most fastidious taste & served in the best style and in the greatest abundance as I am sure you well know. But to return to the guests. There was at first but little space for Dancing, and until the Evening had somewhat advanced, even but little inclination. For the first hour or two, every body seemed busily occupied—either in ascertaining "Who was Who"—or in admiring and examining the beautiful Dresses of the Ladies; for many of the gentlemen were in mask. The Rooms were crowded almost beyond example in our City, th° the Washingtonians would hardly call it a tight squeeze. but for Fancy Dresses—anything of a "squeeze" —you know must be annoying—as it prevents many rich, handsome Costumes being shown off to advantage. To tell you who was there, is no very hard task, for I might in general terms say—every body was there who is at all in the habit of attending parties.

First among your friends whom I met was *Mrs Caton*—she looked as I have always seen her look before. I think I run no risk in saying she was in no Fancy Costume, but wore a handsome Black Velvet Dress—and Ostrich feathers in her head Dress. She was leaning on the Arm of *Mr McTavish,* who was arrayed in his rich Consular Uniform (as I understood) that was much admired. I only recollect, that there was a great deal of Gold Lace on the front of his Coat.

Mrs J. G. Davis was there, I think, as Mary Queen of Scots —wore a handsome Dress of Black Velvet, trimmed with Pearls —over White Satin Under Skirt—and a tiara of rich Jewels on her head.

Mrs John S. Skinner was there as a Polish Lady—and you may take it for granted, both of these Ladies had on rich and becoming Costumes the latter wore a Purple Velvet Dress over White Satin Polish Cap and Feathers. Amethyst jewels—very handsome Costume.

Rebecca Key Howard was there. What was she, you will ask?—She was no Queen or Goddess—she represented no Character in Shakespeare—neither was she attired in any Costume as a Princess—she was herself only and as herself dressed in some White material familiar enough to you ladies, but unknown to me. She paraded through those Rooms—crowded with all the beauty of this City of beauties—the acknowledged Queen of the Night—not that she received more attention, but she elicited most admiration.

The two Williamses [3] were there looking like Angels—both of them—*Mary* however more so. They were dressed I believe in personation of some picture they had chosen as a Model—but I do not know who the picture represented—I only know they were beautifully dressed and wore beautiful jewels and if the Originals equaled the representations—I should like to have the picture hanging in our Parlors.

Sophie Cooke also looked remarkably well, as the heroine in the "Bride of Abydos"—she wore a beautiful Turkish Dress—but I can give you no particulars. *Sophie Cooke, Mary Williams* and *Margaret Patterson* wore, I think, the prettiest Dresses in the Rooms—and I doubt if my judgment was much from that of others present. *Margaret Patterson* was, I think she said, a Circassian Princess—and her Dress was in perfect keeping—of rich materials and beautiful jewels — & wore a Crown Covered with jewels—and she looked better than I ever Saw her. Her Cousin *Charlotte Patterson* was there, the daughter of Mrs Joe Patterson and probably you know her—she wore a beautiful dress—as an Italian Peasant, I believe.

Maria Stevenson was there as the "Bandit's Bride"—a beautiful dress—and she looked so well.

Margaret Smith, the grand daughter of the old General, was looking remarkably well, and your humble Servant bored her for the greater part of the Evening with his Society. She is looking remarkably pretty this Winter—and last night was not surpassed by many,; she told me what she represented, and she wore a

[3] Mary and Elizabeth.

beautiful Turkish Costume of pink and white and a pink Turban with feathers—as a "Polish Lady" I think. I am not able to describe all these beautiful Costumes—or the Characters they intend to represent—I write only to while away some of your sick hours, th° I think by this time you have almost wholly recovered—th° I am able to give you the general appearance and general effect—it is as much as I am able to do—but I must continue to tell you of others there. *Miss Skipwith* from Virginia—was also much admired—in a beautiful Costume as a "Berneois Peasant" I believe, also there was *Miss Anne Gordan* of Virginia—who appeared as "Sweet Anne Page"—in a pink and white Costume and Pearl Ornaments. This last Lady is Said to be very wealthy—but independent of her wealth —her appearance is very attractive, and her lovely manners make her most agreeable; but I am not personally acquainted with her.

Elizabeth Hall was also there—also as "Sweet Anne Page" —her appearance is always striking and the beautiful Velvet dress—I believe it was—which she wore last night—was very becoming and became her very much.

Miss E. Travis was there as "*Night*" — she wore a rich Black dress Covered with Silver Stars. She is certainly a lovely woman—with perhaps the finest eyes (next to Julia Calverts) I ever saw. Her figure is not so good, the last party at which I saw her she was probably the Belle of the Evening.

Serena Barroll was there as "Rowena"—she wore a beautiful Costume — Cherry Colored — and a Gold tiara covered with jewels. I think she has the finest figure perhaps in the City— and I heard many speak her praises.

The Claphams were there and looked remarkably well in beautiful Costumes—one I think probably from Lalla Rook.

Miss Emma Meredith was there as "Queen of the Fairies" beautifully dressed in perfect keeping with the Character. Many others were there—but I think I have gone through with most of the ladies that you know—or have heard of—and I must now mention at least a few of the gentlemen.

"Paul Pry" was there — represented by *Mr R. Brent* a stranger (from Washington I think)—who played his part well.

Old Hagar too was there. She made her appearance and really the resemblance was very striking and was personated by *Mr Wethered* I am told.

Young Dr Butler appeared as "Mrs. Trollope" and excited a great deal of merriment.

Several strangers are here for the Winter, and they and the Beaux of the City were all very handsomely apparelled. *Mr Campbell,* who accompanied Murray Lloyd to the Eastern Shore on the occasion of his Wedding, was there, and represented the "Corsair"—his dress was a costly one I understood but not a becoming one, he is a handsome man and probably the ladies thought him very handsome last night.

Mr Middleton from South Carolina was there as an Indian Chief, and looking remarkably well; which was the general opinion which I concurred in.

Theoderic Skinner wore a handsome Dress as a "Polish Lancer" and I heard many say he looked remarkably handsome in it—his Brother Frederick Skinner likewise wore a handsome Costume as a Greek I was told. A very rich Costume.

Joe (Nicholson) and *E. A. Brown* went as Sailors.

William Meredith represented an "Indian Chief."

Dr J. H. Thomas—said to be Engaged to Miss Anne Gordon of Virginia—appeared as a "Kentucky Hunter" and not only played his part well but also looked well in that Costume.

Mr McHenry and *Mr Greenway* both represented French Counts, gentlemen of the "Olden times"—in handsodme Costumes; they and many others wore masks.

We also had a *"Sugar Loaf"* who was *Mr Cooke*—and a *"Terrapin"* who was *Mr Wm H. Hoffman*—they created much amusement. I have not mentioned my own Character. I at first represented a Sailor and was in Mask—then changed my Dress and wore a Turkish Costume to represent "Old Nick"—as I heard myself called. I enjoyed this beautiful Ball as every one did and regret you were not well enough to be present. I

have named but few of the many present—there were many distinguished Strangers there and Officers of both the Navy and Army. The presence of the Charming Host and Hostess was felt and acknowledged every where—there was no effort visible, every thing went on as if by Magic—and it was not until the small hours in the Morning the guests Shook hands and said Good Night—to Mr and Mrs Cohen—after this most delightful Evening.

Hoping my letter may find you improving, and almost well again—I am my dear Mother

Ever your affec^{t} Son

J. M. Nicholson.

Since Writing My Letter—a Printed List—Giving Many Names of some I have not mentioned who were present at Mr & Mrs B. I. Cohen's Fancy Ball—Feb 2nd 1837—and I Copy those I have not described and send you.

Printed List

Mrs E. P. Cohen wore a beautiful French Embroidered Dress and Pearl Ornaments.

Miss Graff was Dressed as a Swiss Peasant.

Mrs Robert Gilmor wore a handsome Ball Dress with rich and elegant Jewels.

Mrs Robert Gilmor jr. went as "Medora"—wearing a White Muslin Dress. No Ornaments, only her long, beautiful hair flowing down to her feet, over her neck, shoulders and back.

Miss Norman. A Spanish Page-Dress of Blue and White Satin —hat & Shoes to Suit.

Miss E. O'Donnell—Diana—Dress of White and Silver, with Silver bow and arrows.

Miss Sterett—Swiss Peasant.

Miss Gill—Swiss Peasant.

Miss Donnell—Dutch Girl—very pretty Costume.

Miss Elizabeth Frick. Noviciate.

Mrs T. Oldfield. A Houri (a nymph of paradise)—beautiful Dress of Yellow and Gold.

Miss E. Wethered. Sultana—very rich Dress of Blue and Silver, Brocade—very handsome Costume.

Miss C. D....e—Spanish Lady of Rank.

Miss Hodges—Noviciate—Dressed in White.

Miss Carroll. Very beautiful, Parisian Costume.

Mrs Pennington — "Queen Caroline" — Black Velvet Dress. Stomacher of magnificent Jewels—Tiara of Jewels—and White and Scarlet plumes.

Mrs F. Brune—Young Lady of the 15th Century—very rich Brocade Dress—with pointed Stomacher—very high heels on her Shoes—with Buckles—hair powdered and Cushioned — Long Curls behind, antique fan, and beautiful Jewels.

Miss Agnes Gordon. Rebecca — (from Ivanhoe) — rich and handsome Costume and a profusion of Jewels.

Miss C. Nisbet. Greek Costume—very handsome Costume.

Miss A. Nisbet—As "Folly"—A Gold Crescent with small gold Bells as a head-dress, and all her Costume was appropriate and Ornamented beautifully.

Miss L. Howard. A Circassian Dancing Girl.

Miss Margaret Hughes—As French Peasant Girl.

Miss E. Gilmor; Polish Lady. Costume Cherry Colored — trimmed with swans-down — over an under-dress of Gold & White—hat to suit.

Miss Mary Smith—As "Rebecca"—wore a beautiful Dress.

Mrs Greenway—Italian Peasant Girl.

Miss C. Smith—Spanish Lady.

Mrs B. Mayer—Queen Elizabeth—with a ruff and long train of Satin—perfect Costume.

Miss Armstead. A Greek Girl.

Mrs C. Tiernan. Turkish Lady. beautiful Dress of Silver and White—and fine Jewels.

Mrs Somerville—A Highland Lady—Scotch Dress.

Mrs Latrobe—A Highland Lady.

Miss Martha Gray—A Gipsy. Mantle and hat all in character.

Miss Dunbar—Highland Lady.
Miss Rebecca Rogers—Highland Lady.
Miss S. Hoffman—Turkish Costume, very handsome Dress.
Miss Barney—Polish Dress—very handsome.
Miss Winter—Normandy Peasant Girl.
Miss Magruder—Helen McGregor—full Highland Costume.
Miss Howard—"Flora McIvor." very beautiful Costume.
Miss S....w. A Gipsy—handsome Dress.
Miss Clapham—A Scotch Lassie—attracted general admiration by the elegance and correctness of her attire.
Mrs F. H. Davidge. A Highland Costume.
Miss Shubrick—Renée de Rieux, Countess de Chateau neuf.
Mrs. S. W. D....n. A Brazilian Lady.

The Gentlemen—many of whom were in Mask as well as Costume.

M. P. D....n. A Pedlar.
Mr W. Donnell. Italian Nobleman.
Mr. W. Tiffany. Black Friar.
Mr. H. Tiffany—Count Almavivi.
Mr P. Kennedy. Neapolitan Fisherman.
Mr W. Meredith—An Indian Chief—in full Costume tomahawk in hand.
Mr J. B. Williams—A Swiss Mountaineer.
Mr G. Cooke—the "Sugar Loaf."
Mr W. Greenway—French Count of the Last Century.
Mr R. Brent—"Paul Pry."
Mr L. Smith. *Country Boy* from Anaranold County & his Sweetheart *"Miss" Phoebe Cornstalk"*—his Sweetheart played these parts well and most amusing.
Dr. Tom Buckler—A *Country Girl.*
Mr Swan—A Sailor.
Mr Barroll—A Sailor.
Mr W. Frick—Captain of the Water Witch.
Mr. J. M. Nicholson—A Sailor—then changed Costume and appeared as "Mephistopheles"—wore handsome Turkish Costume.

Mr B. H. Latrobe. Costume of Last Century—handsome Dress.
Mr S. O. Hoffman—Court Dress of France—handsome Costume.
Mr. E. H. . . . n—An Irish Boy from Tipperary.
Mr W. H. Hoffman—The " Terrapin."
Mr. J. Carroll—Costume of last Century.
Mr McHenry—An ancient Costume of France.
Mr Graff—Tyrolean Peasant.
Mr Ludlow—A Highland Chief.
S. Teackle Wallis—Mendicant Friar.
Mr C. R. Barney. Don Juan.
Mr Robert Gilmor jr—A Turkish Costume.
Frederick Skinner—A Greek Pirate—handsome Costume.
Theoderick Skinner. Polish Lancer—very handsome Dress.
M. Patterson—A Shepherd Boy.
Mr F. H. Davidge. A Highland Chieftain.
Mr B. Mayer—Earl of Rochester—handsome Dress.
Mr Davis—wore a handsome Uniform.
Mr G. W. Dobbin—Brazilian Guachi.
Mr Savage—A Page.
Mr Bordly—Courtier of the time of Charles II.
Mr L. Washington—A Sailor.

Many of the Gentlemen wore Masks.

This list—including all those mentioned in Mr. J. M. Nicholson's Letter—do not include all the guests at this famous ball.[4]

[4] From another contemporaneous letter, published in pamphlet form shortly after the "party," the above list has been corrected, and from it the following names are added:

Madame Patterson-Bonaparte,—Queen Caroline.
Miss Virginia Williams,—Quakeress.
Miss A. Law,—French Gardeneress.
Miss Matilda Cohen, from Wales,—Welsh peasant.
Miss Mary Hall,—Flora MacDonald.
Miss Mary Cooke,—Tyrolean peasant.
Mrs. Flora Byrne,—Young matron of 15th century.
Mrs. Dr. Hall,—Lady of last century.
Mrs. Donaldson,—Highland Lady.

The Residence of Mr. and Mrs. B. I. Cohen some years later became the residence of Dr. Alexander Robinson, who married Miss Wirt, and his daughters Laura, now Mrs. Robert Atkinson; Angelica, now Mrs. Robert Gamble; Agnes, who married Carval Hall (both deceased), and his sons, William Wirt Robinson, Alexander Robinson, and George Robinson (all now deceased). But all this family of Dr. Robinson, from just before 1860—and after 1865—made this handsome house of Mr. and Mrs. B. I. Cohen, on North Charles and Saratoga streets, well known to the Maryland "Belles and Beaux" of those later dates, the children of many of those "Belles and Beaux" present at this celebrated fancy ball, Feb. 2d, 1837, and the beautiful entertainments given by Dr. Robinson and his daughters and sons, though not "fancy balls," were no less delightful entertainments, as many of the present day can testify, myself among them, from just before 1860 and after 1865.

Rebecca Lloyd Post Shippen.
(Mrs. Edward Shippen.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE CARROLL PAPERS

(Continued from Vol. XIV, p. 293.)

Octo^{r} 19th 1772 [206]

D^{r} Charley

I have y^{rs} by Johny. I wrote to M^{r} Dan: Carroll the 12th ins^{t} to get 3 or 4 Palatines, I have not since Heard from Him, He was to be marryed last thursday, th^{t} as I suppose (as it is natural) at present engaged all His Attention. If among th^{e} Goods Bishoprick has brought there be any for me advise me, I do not Recollect th^{t} I wrote for any. By y^{r} Acc^{t} I hope you may Secure the money due from tho^{s} Philpot by His protesting y^{r} Bills: I suppose the Bill to Ringgold was a large one, you do not mention the sum. Riggs this day set out for the Ohio to take up 12 or 1500^{a} of Land, 3 others went with

Him. He proposed to be back in a fortnight. I do not think He Can return under 3 weeks. I could not well refuse Him leave & I am in hopes by Frosts Riding twice a week round the Plantation under Rigg's Care th^{t} I shall not suffer by Rigg's absence. The wood in the Branch in the Middle of the Folly Plantation is downe & most of the Underwood grubbed, the Plantation shews to advantage by th^{t} Clearing. For 3 weeks past there has been thick, Close foggy & warm weather it is not only unusuall at this Season but unwholesome & very prejudiciall to the tob^{o} House. We are obliged to keep fiers in all Houses at no small risque (the tob^{o} being mostly Cured) to prevent House burning & Mold, if this is not Generally done Much tob^{o} will be spoiled in the Province.

I lost a pair of thread Stockings when last with you, pray enquier for them. Nanny is not the only thief in y^{r} House, I think to Give Molly & Henry a Severe whipping when I go downe if my stockings are not found. I have a Cold in my Head it is not bad but makes me Heavy. 6 a Clock P: M: The wagon Came up about 3 a Clock with y^{rs} of the 17th. I think you will find the Courses of Trevor in some of the Mortgages of th^{t} Land if not get th^{m} from the office ag^{t} next Saturday let me know the Expence th^{t} I may Charge it to Frost. My Acc^{t} ag^{t} Masters may be proved Hereafter. M^{r} Johnson was to Pay in Proportion for the land added to the Ground leased to Jennings, to have a lease of the whole for the Remainder of the term Granted to Jenings, He never returned me a Plat by w^{h} the Rent was to be Ascertained, I suppose M^{r} Johnson got D: D^{s} Consent to the above terms, He must Remember I more than once pressed Him to do so: He knows D: D & th^{t} He is Dilatary to say no more M^{r} Johnson is Chargeable with Tho^{s} or M^{r} Jenings's Ballance & with the Additionall Rent from the time He took the Land added, w^{h} must be referd to Him if you do not find a M^{m} of it in some of the Blotters Pray shew what I write on this Head to M^{r} Johnson. Give my Service to M^{r} Deards & thank Him for His letter & tell Him I am glad to Hear He is Recovered & th^{t} the things He Sent by the Wagon Came safe. I am very glad

to Hear you are all well, may you very long Continue so. My love & Blessing to you all. I am Dr Charley

Yr mo: Afft Father
Cha: Carroll

Oct. 23rd 1772 [207]

Dr Charley

You will receive this by Giles who has leave to see His Mother, He is to return on Tuesday. By Him pray send the Certificate I wrote for & the date of Edwd Dorseys the son of Johns Bond & the sum due on it. He wants to pay the intt due on it. We have at last fine weather there was yesterday Morning a small white frost it did not the least Hurt even to Kidney Beans. My Cold is better & I hope goeing of. I have not Heared from Dan: Carroll & Consequent conclude He Could not get me any Palatines. We have a good Mast round us, the Hoggs will benefit by it & therefore will not be put up as soon as Riggs at 1st proposed, I think not before the Middle of Novr My love & Blessing to you all. I am Dr Charley

Yr mo: Afft Father
Cha: Carroll

P. S. Has the Execution been served on Worthington. Mr Gill pretends a promise of Mr Carroll's Lots at E: R by inclosing thm He excludes me from access to my lot, if Mr Carroll would not grant such Lease without reserving an access to my lot He would very much oblige me. Pray make my Compliments to Him & let Him know this. He will give you an Answer.

Oct. 28th 1772 [208]

Dr Charley

I have yrs Dated Octor 21st and 25th inclusive I have a pr of Cart wheels 5 Inches tread ready made & shod for the Island. I read yr directions to Riggs about shoeing the wheels wh He says shall be observed & tht the wheels made for the Island are

made & shod to y^{r} direction. You say you also want a p^{r} of Wheels for the Plantation of the usual tread, th^{t} is vague, if only for the use of the Quarter they must be narrow Wheels, if for the Quarter & Towne, mention the treads: Be always Particular in y^{r} directions & you will save me & y^{r} self some writing. I am only Accountable to my Brothers Representatives for Trevor, the Addition to it I think I bought of one Carpenter or French. I am obliged to you for Being so Particular about the Appointment of Auditors & y^{r} Remarks on the Decree between Digges & us, they are very Pertinent & of Course we must Apply to the Chancelor to have the Severall Points you mention & any others w^{h} may Occur to you or y^{r} Counsel fully Explained, before th^{t}. I think the Auditors Cannot begin to Consider the Acc^{ts} I think Conden & Henart right in insisting on a Joint letter from me & Diggs to Pay th^{m} so are you to insist to know what they requier p^{r} Diem for th^{m}selves, Clerk, Copying Journey Expences &c &c. before we sign such a letter; Consult Johnson & Cooke on the Propriety of the letter & the above Charges. It realy gives me great Pleasure & satisfaction to find you are so thorough a Master of the Cause & Acc^{ts}. Act with the Gov^{r} & Visit Him as usual. His fickle Behaviour & mean Condesention to the Dulanys Justly lessens Him in y^{rs} & the Esteem of every one Acquainted with their Pride & Insolence & with His former Behaviour to th^{m} & what He has Heretofore sayed of them, But prudence directs you not to shew th^{t} the Gov^{rs} folly & want of Spirit is mortifying to you; you may Resolve to live in a desart if you will not generally Associate with foolish Fickle mean spirited men: You ought not to alter y^{r} Behaviour to the Gov^{r} unless Compelled to it by some Evident slight or ill treatment, w^{h} you have no Reason to Expect. I directed Riggs to look out for Horses as He travelled, He says He did so, th^{t} He was asked £35 V^{a} Currency for a Horse not worth more than £17. Many Horses I understand are Carryed to Baltimore Towne for Sale, I will write to D: Carroll to get 4 or 5, one of th^{m} or a mare for you. I shall advise Him to take none above 7, nor any upon His owne Judgement I expect Edw: Dorsey

this day to Pay His int^{t}. I shall Remember the white Clover & English grass seed for you. Turnbull has little or no Carrot seed, for me only some yearly part of Bed for Kitchen use, I once tryed field Carrots under Heesons management without success, insted of Carrots Cultivate Potatoes they are a Certain Crop, excellent food for all sorts of Stock, Especially Milch Cowes fed on them give a rich Milk w^{h} makes an Excellent butter. I do not Hear th^{t} Giles is Come Home, He Certainly got Drunk, lost or sold the Shoes, He shall be whipped. Riggs says He intended to send 30 p^{r} of shoes by the wagon but Could only get 24 p^{r} into the Bagg w^{h} was Carefully tyed up as Edw^{d} Clarke says. How many Pair did you Receive by the wagon? Riggs set out with 3 others in Company, they went within two miles of Coll Cressaps, He says they met with upwards of 100 People Returning from the Monongealla & those Parts who Represented the Lands tho Rich Excessively broken & th^{t} the Inhabitants there were starving Having gathered & almost Consumed this summers Crop of Corn, He says further th^{t} they told Him th^{t} two forts nigh Pitsburgh were Blown up th^{t} Fort Pit was undermined & to be Blown up as last Saturday th^{t} the Kings stores there were to be sold by Vendue & the Garrison to march in. French told me He Heared the same thing, if it be true the Expence attending a Garrison there, is in England thought needless or too great, or they Intend to Erect other forts in the new Government. As you trimmed Scot, Ireland & I trimmed French last Sunday & Monday. He lost £3:17:6 of w^{h} I only got 17/6. You say much of y^{r} Happiness depends on my life, I believe you for you Have allways been a dutifull & Affectionate son, But D^{r} Charley by the Course of nature I Cannot be long with you, think often th^{t} I must soon leave you, th^{t} I am persuaded will as much as any thing by preparing you for the Event enable you to bear it: I Recommend what I practice, I often very often think of my last day & I at present think I shall see it without terror & with Resignation. M^{r} Jos. Sprigg was last Monday with me to Purchase 79½^{a} Part of Enfield Chace unsold to Tasker who did not Care to take it as He indexed it not Clear

of an Elder survey. Sprigg Agrees to Give me two Guineas an Acre for my Right & I promised to let Him have it at th^{t} Price, If not: Young to whom I promised the Refusall did not take it. Sprigg has acted Generously, M^{r} Young to say the least has been very dilatary & therefore must not know Spriggs Offer. The inclosed letter to Young will exculpate my sale to Sprigg, or will induce Young to apply to me immediately. Pray send it as soon as Possible by a secure hand, note in y^{r} Blotter by whome & the day you sent it, & advise me also. Pray let me know How many hgds were sold to Ste: West last year under the following marks & the weight of them as I am to Pay M^{r} Becraft His share CC$_{B}$, CC$_{D}$, CC$_{H}$—Seal & Deliver myne to the Major—Octo^{r} 29th Yesterday Evening I received y^{rs} of the 17th by Giles. I have a Regular Cash Acc^{t} in an old Book Here from Febru 27th 1731 to long after my Brothers Death. I will get McKensie to renew His Bond. Y^{r} two last letters shall be kept Carefully. Pray desier y^{r} Gardener to take up all the young Apple trees in the nursery at the Quater w^{h} you do not think fit to reserve & to put them into the Ground in Bundles Covering the Roots well so th^{t} they may be ready for my Wagon w^{h} I think to send downe either the 6th or 14th of next month, she may Carry the ready made Wheels. When will you want flour & a Beef? we are now takeing up our Potatoes Ploughing Grubing & all the works of the Season. For 3 weeks past the Weather has been very unfavourable for the tob^{o} Cured by fier very much & I suppose has House burnt all tob^{o} not fierd, if it has been as Close Warme & Foggy every where as with us, you may Have some Business at our County Court, if so I shall not expect you before the Middle or latter end of the week after next. The Palatines by agreement have severall days to looke out for Masters & to make the Best terms they Can, they seldom agree untill those days are Expierd, th^{t} may be the Reason th^{t} I do not Hear from M^{r} Carroll about th^{m}. As to the Vessell you mention with Irish Familys unless there be Single men among th^{m} M^{r} Carroll wont look at th^{m} Oct. 30th. There is one Regan a Horse stealer in A: A: Prison who I Hear Confesses He stole my Horse from the Folly &

sold Him to one Hardy on Potomack, there is a family of the Hardys about Piscataway inclosed is a description of the Horse Pray send it to Mr Rozier (first takeing a Copy of it) & desier Him to do you the favour to get the Horse. By applying to Regan by Yrself or Mr Deards you may get Hardys Christian name & a Certain Acct of the place of His abode. I Hear also tht Regan was in partnership wth a gang of 13 or 14 Horse stealers & tht He has impeached thm all on assurance from the Magistrate of a Pardon, I hope the Govr will use all Endeavours to have thm apprehended by applying to the neighbouring Govrs. One Cheney Mrs Frosts Brother is a Principall rogue among thm & drew in Regan who I hear is not above 20: I pity Mrs Frost. We Began to take up our Potatoes on Monday, the Wet Weather obliged us to desist. We had a flurry of Wind & Rain this morning, & it looks as if we should Have fair Weather. I am very well, last Sunday I had not the least appetite nor did I eat, nor Could I bear the Sight of Victuals, this Happened without any sickness or feevour tht I Could perceive, my appetite gradually returned & I now eat as usuall. My love & Blessing to you all. Do give little Molly a kiss & tel Her Grand Papa sent it to Her. I am Dr Charley

Yr mo: Afft Father
Cha: Carroll

P. S. I shall be glad to Hear
tht Coll Sharpes Mill Answers

A darkish Grey Horse about 13 hands high His mane and Tail almost white, Branded on the near shoulder C C The Brand scarce perceivable, Trotts, & is subject to a lameness in his near foot, if rode hard.

Stole the 9th of April 1772.

Novr 2d 1772 [209]

Dr Charley

Mrs Daniel wil deliver you this I am uneasy about the Child but I think more so about Molly. But I hope for the Best. I

shall send the Stallions to meet you on Saturday at Stoners you may Come thither wth M^{rs} Darnall in y^{r} Curricle. If you do not Come on Saturday send Alie Back to let me know How the Child is & when I shall send the Horses. I have been some what indisposed by a flux w^{h} Has Lessened my Appetite, it was troublesome on Friday & Saturday, yesterday I took a Dose of Rhubarb w^{h} I think has been of Great Service I am now easy & I think my Complaint at an end I am much Surprised to find myself so little weakened Considering the discharge I have had. I this Day walked about two Miles without fatigue. My love & Blessing to you all, God Grant my little Louisa & all of you Health & a long Continuance of it. I am D^{r} Charley

Y^{r} Mo: Aff^{t} Father

Nov 19th 1772 [210]

D^{r} Charley

I see by y^{rs} to Molly you'r uneasy about my Health, if I was more Grave & thoughtful when you was Here than usuall I Can attribute it to nothing but to Mollys uneasiness & the loss of Louisa, for I find myself well, it is true I do not eat as much as formerly & what I doe eat I do eat with so good an appetite, But I do not find my strength to fail me, I take as much Exercise as for some years past & without being fatigued I walked this Day about 5 miles. Robert Davis dined with me & went with me to the Post placed in the roome of a White Oake & Hickory Boundaries of Kendalls Delight & the Beginning of Chance. He told me He was lately at the White Oake a Boundary of Dryers & Dodderige th^{t} it is well knowne & by what He tells me it is as much Hammonds as it is our Interest to preserve it: Howard Writes you th^{t} M^{r} Dorsey & He saw it this week. Let me know when our County Court meets to settle the Levy, I may then Have a Commission to settle th^{t} Boundary. I think to send downe the Wagon the 28th for the Rest of the trees, send y^{r} Gardener to the Quarter to trim of the Lops leaving two 3 or 4 Branches at the top of each tree as the trees will direct about a foot long to forme the Head of the tree, this being done

I think the Wagon may bring them all. Send the Gardener to Coll. Sharpe & desier Him to Spare me 100 or 150 Plumb Suckers for Stocks to Graft on. I forgot to tell you th^{t} R^{t} Davis goes next week to lay out what is Clear of Carrolls Forrest for Wheeler. If Riggs & Frost Have been Exact in their Measure I Have made 5750 Bushells of Potatoes at all the Plantations the Hoggs & Every thing Eates th^{m}. The Hoggs Rooted up & eat all in Valentines Orchard. Frost & Clarke have not got in all their Corn, Riggs says He thinks Frost will make at least 1000 Barrills at the Plantations under His Care, if so I shall make 2000 Barrills, Riggs Has measured 820 Barrills, I suppose Clarke will make 140, if so the Plantations under Riggs will amount to 960 Barrills. I shall not write to you to Morrow unless something new Occurs. God Bless you & Grant you Health. We are all well & Molly pretty Chearfull But the thoughts of the Meazells small Pox & being from you perplexes Her. I am D^{r} Charley

Y^{r} Mo: Aff^{t} Father
Cha: Carroll

P. S.
My Compliments to M^{r}
Deards I will answer His by
the Wagon to morrow.

Nov^{r} 23^{d} 1772 [211]

D^{r} Charley

I have y^{rs} of the 20th which I shewed to Molly, She I suppose has told you when she will Come to you. Little Nan has been whipt about M^{rs} Moretons Shifts, She Confessed she stole them & said she gave th^{m} to Moll, search Molls Box &c privately, But it is probable she Has sold th^{m} I am determined to see Moll & Henry well Whipped when I go downe. Look among the Plats & Certificates for a Plat of Chance Dryers Inheritance Doddrige's Forest &c & if you find it, send it to me, Davis says He made One, but I do not Remember it. I will prepare a Petition to perpetuate the Bounds of Chance Dodderige & Dryer. The Gov^{r} will be in Towne this day or to Morrow, for I am told a

grand Councill is to be held to Morrow w^{h} I suppose you forgot. We are all well. I am D^{r} Charley

Y^{r} Mo: Aff^{t} Father

Cha: Carroll

I suppose you will want very few if any Wood Cutters, you may employ the Jobbers who are with you, if you want more, let me know the number & when to send th^{m}

March 12th 1773 [212]

D^{r} Charley

We got Home in 6 Hours & ¾ all Stopages included. Y^{r} Horses behaved very well, the Roades between Annapolis & McDaniell's were very Heavy as we advanced they grew better. M^{rs} Darnall Complained much of the Cold. I found no ill convenience from it nor did I feel it, perhaps it would not have affected Her so much had wee been goeing to, insted of Returning from Annapolis: I think she did not like to leave M^{rs} Scots Rout. This as entre nous. I have not been out this day but in my Garden, as far as I can see & am informed every thing Here is in as good Condition as I could Expect, I shall ride out to morrow. I send downe a Boy as M^{rs} Darnall tells me she Can send you some Butter: Let the Boy return early on Sunday, by Him informe me How Countenances appeared at the Rout, what is sayed of the 1st Citizen & how it is Relished, I shall be much disappointed if it does not meet with a Generall Cordiall reception. Has the Gov^{r} received His Commission? if so what is sayed about it & what steps are to be taken in Consequence of it? Kiss our D^{r} little Molly for me again & again, desier Her Mother to doe the same & both of you tell Her, Her Grandpapa sends Her those Kisses. My love & Blessing to you all & may God grant you all perfect Health & a very long Continuance of it. I am D^{r} Charley

Y^{r} Mo: Aff^{t} Father

Cha: Carroll

March 17th 1773 [213]

Dr Charley

Yrs of the 13th instant I received about ½ an Hour before Jas Howard Came to me & deliverd me this Gazette of the 11th inst. He acquainted me wth the impatience of the People to get it, tht the Office was a long time Crowded, tht all the strangers in Towne retierd to their Lodgeings many to private places (to avoid interruption) to read it, that the Publick Houses were tht night as quiet as private Ones, that next morning every mouth was open in praise of the 1st Citizen. Mr Green I am told has got many subscribers in this neighbourhood by it. A Gentleman told me you appeared at the County Court on Friday, tht the whisper immediately Ran there is the 1st Citizen & tht every eye was fixed on you with evident marks of Pleasure & Approbation, that many sayed they did not know which to admire most yr strength of Reasoning or yr Calm & Gentleman like stile Considering Antillons scurrilous & abusive provocation; That it was a doubt & matter of Debate whether yr Text or Conclusion was most severe, but that all agreed nothing Could be more applicable than both. On Sunday about 4 a Clock P: M: I had the Pleasure of Mr Johnsons Chace's & Tilghmans Company. The evenings Conversation you may naturally Suppose turned Chiefly on the 1st Citizens Paper, their opinion of it you Cannot be in doubt about; They assured me it met with a Generall & Warme aprobation. You tell me some have thought it *too long winded.* I do not doubt it, the text would have been too long winded for such Criticks, I have not Heared that any others have Complained of its length I Cannot shew my Approbation of yr Piece better than by wishing that you may with good Health live to see a Son think as you do & express His thoughts with yr force Elegance and Ease, should that Happen you will be sensible of the Pleasure I feel. By this time you may have heared How yr Piece is Relished at Court & what is sayed of it by others, such Anecdotes I long to have. I suspect there are some in Annapolis & Elsewhere who tho' pleased in their Hearts with the Citizen, will not Care to say so, tht some of those who secretly like it, will openly Censure it: so goes the World.

I rode out to the Folly & Frosts, Every thing there & Here is in good order for a Crop & looks well; All the other Plantations I am told are in like good Condition. What small grain I have seen looks very well. I have 40 fine Lambs Here & a few Ewes yet to yeen. I have walked out but little yet, the ground by the night frosts & last nights Rain being too wet. I am very well. I embrace you all. May God grant you all perfect Health & a very long Continuance of it. I am Dr Charley

Yr Mo: Afft Father
Cha: Carroll

March 17th 1773 [213]

Dr Charley

The letter Herewith is wrote in such a Manner tht you may as Circumstances may fall out if you see proper Communicate it to Dor Scot Ridout & Jenifer it may make them open I would not have you write anything more unless yr last Paper be Attacked, as you are upon strong ground about the Proclamation it Cannot give you much trouble to Maintain it, do not by any means bee drawne into discuss any other Matter, it is Mr Johnsons advice as well as myne, He told me His Heart is with you & that He will readily & Cheerfully advise you, without His advice do not meddle with any Law Point. I am Certain intense thought & Confinement Hurts you therefore write no more but in support of what you have sayed about the Proclamation. The Govr has a Ticklish part to Play, He may not see it, if Hartfords Guardians notwithstanding his Commission should be desierous to remove Him, May they not make a Pretence of His unpopularity & wrong step in issueing & supporting the Proclamation, He has owned it as His owne Act. Should He Recall the Proclamation & Settle the fees by a Law at a Lower Rate than by the last Act, will they not say He has betrayed His trust, will they not remove Him? Slight Pretences are enough to those who seek only Pretences for doeing what they want to do. This is a sudden thought & I desier you not to mention it on any Acct to any one I send the Boy downe this Day that I

may have Chace's & Paca's Answer, to Peruse it before Chace Return from Frederick Hither, which will be on Saturday. Dispatch the Boy on Friday as soon as the N^n^ Post Comes in with the Philadelphia Paper. Pray give me such an Opinion as you Can forme of Chace's & Paca's Paper w^h^ I understand is to be in to Morrows Gazette. I am glad you went to see the Gov^r^ last Friday & wish you had found Him at Home, it would have been as I think a sort of an embaressed Tete a tete, However a Conscious rectitude would have enabled you to behave with ease. Is not the text of the Citizen Misprinted? Are not the words *Arbitrary Counsels* in Hume? if so they ought to have been in Italicks. The word *youthfull* applyed to the Gov^r^. I wish it had been omitted it Carries too much the Significancy of Puerility & Levity & want of Reflection. This is the only Correction I would make in y^r^ Piece. In a week you must have heared some Reflections on, & Praises of y^r^ performance, let me Have them all, the meerest trifle is interesting. I am D^r^ Charley Y^rs^ &c

Cha: Carroll

P. S. M^r^ Johnson is the Gentleman mentioned in my other letter who I say told me &c

M^r^ Ashton Came just before Dinner & delivered me y^rs^ of the 14^th^. He tells me Antillon says He will answer the Citizen I send 2 Volumes Evangile du jour. 2^do^ Demosthenes His Orations & Paradise lost. I Cannot find Bolts Considerations, I may have lent them to French or Ireland.

Between 12 & 2 a Clock this day we had Thunder Lightning & Rain.

March 20^th^ 1773 [214]

D^r^ Charley

Clem brought me y^rs^ of the 18^th^ a little after 12 a Clock. I judge as you do by Antillons Card th^t^ He will not Answer you & I see He is not ashamed of keeping up His Claim to His Titles of a lyear & Calumniator. Whenever you have an opportunity to the Island Pray press Seers to dispatch the Carpenters

by giving them all the Tendance He Can & by a Constant Eye to them: Rigges tells me they Can easily with good Attendance Build a 50 foot House in 6 weeks, if so by the last of Aprill I hope they will doe all the other odd Jobbs He may want done. My Vineyard is in good order. I shall fill it as far as my Cuttings will enable me Ribbes has Cut downe a good Piece of the Branch at Jacobs as you goe to the Folly, about 4 Acres, when Cleared & layed in grass it will look prettily. I expect Johnson &c to Dinner at 3 a Clock it is nigh th^{t} Hour I therefore take my leave of you presenting my love & Blessing to you all I am D^{r} Charley

Y^{r} Mo: Aff^{t} Father
Cha: Carroll

P. S. March 22 The Gen^{tm} are leaving me, We have been very Cheerfull, the Politicall Papers in our Gazette have Chiefly furnished us with topicks of Conversation. We are well & wish you all so.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DULANY PAPERS

[Hon. Daniel Dulany, the younger, eldest son of Daniel Dulany, the elder, was born in Annapolis, Md., June 28, 1772, and died in Baltimore, Md., March 17, 1791. Educated at Eton College and Clare Hall, Cambridge University, England, and entered the Temple. Returning to America he was admitted to the bar of Maryland in 1747, and soon gained the reputation both in England and America of being one of the greatest lawyers of his time. On September 16, 1749, he married Rebecca Tasker, second daughter of Hon. Benjamin Tasker of Annapolis. She died in Brighton, England, in September 1822, in her 98th year. Member of the Lower House of Assembly 1751-1754, 1756. Commissary General 1759-1761, Member of the Council 1757 and in 1761 Secretary of the Province, which offices he held in conjunction until the War of the Revolution. In October 1765 he wrote a powerful pamphlet against the Stamp Act, entitled *"Considerations on the Propriety of imposing Taxes in the British Colonies for the Purpose of raising a Revenue by Act of Parliament."* This pamphlet was republished in London 1766. The best argument against arbitrary taxation hitherto written it attracted wide-

spread attention and had a tremendous influence, both in America and in England, and furnished the basis of Pitt's great speech in 1766 in the House of Commons against the Stamp Act.

In 1773 he had a political controversy in the *Maryland Gazette* with Hon. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, under the respective titles of "First Citizen" and "Antilon," discussing the action of Governor Eden in establishing the fees, involving also the question of taxation for the support of religion.

Mr. Dulany consistently opposed the radical measures of the Patriot party, took no part in the Revolution, and in consequence lost the whole of his vast estates in 1781 under the Confiscation Act, "the estates of a man who had never breathed an unfriendly breath and had never raised his hand in one overt act."

After the confiscation of his property Mr. Dulany retired to private life.—RICHARD H. SPENCER.]

(London)

Saturday, January 22, 1743.

Dear S^{r}

I rec^{d} your letter last Thursday, & am very glad to hear you are so well. I have enquired what steps are necessary to be taken in order to gett my Brother [1] into the navy: & I find the method now in use is this. A letter must be procured from one of the Lords of the Admiralty to a Captain of a Man of war, desiring him to admitt into his ship the Person he recommends, allowing him the Liberty of the Quarterdeck.

The method of getting into the navy used to be by the King's letter but that can't be procured now. I have not yet delivered your last Letter to my L^{d} Baltimore [2] he being so much engaged I was afraid of appearing troublesome, but will wait on him as soon as he is a little more att Leisure. My Lord promised me when I first saw him since my Arrival, that he wou^{d} give my Brother his Letter of recommendation, & asked me whether you had not rather have him near you, w^{h} I find is your desire by your letters. I doubt not but my Lord will very willingly recommend my Brother to Cap^{t} Warren. When I have seen

[1] Dennis Dulany, son of Hon. Daniel Dulany, the elder. He entered the British Navy in 1743, and remained in the service for several years. In 1754 he was made Clerk of Kent County, Md., and died without issue.

[2] Charles, fifth Lord Baltimore, 1699-1751.

My L[d] Baltimore I will let you know more by the first Opportunity. M[r] Janssen[3] has sent you the Statutes at Large you wrote to me about by Cap[t] Hall. I have enquired about that Land as you desired. It is now in dispute, but Mr. Dash a Tobacconist who is one of the Gentlemen concerned has promised you shall have it (if he got it). I have since heard that the Other Gentleman has or will give up his pretensions to it. I have had but little time to enquire into it since I rec[d] your letter, but will give you a more satisfactory account by the next opportunity. I have taken Chambers in the Temple but expected to have them much Cheaper than I have got them.

The Rent is £25 per annum unfurnished. You perhaps will think it too much for Chambers unfurnished, but had I taken them furnished I shou[d] have payed as much in a few years as the Furniture will cost new. I hear that the Iron you sent by Grindall for 84 tons turns out but 81. Grindall desired me to let you know of it. I am very much concerned att M[r] Heath's[4] Loss & My Brother's sickness.

You will be very much surprised when I tell you, that the Earl of Bath[5] is now as much the Subject of Satire, as he used to be of panegyrick. Many People, especially in the City condemn as much as they used to applaud the Earl's Conduct. The People are very bold in their instructions to their representatives, and insist very much upon having their Grievances redressed, before they grant any Supplies. The representation of the City of Worcester to M[r] Sandys[6] is very remarkable. You will find it in one of the Magazines I sent you. Prague has at last Capitulated the Account we have f[r] Vienna makes

[3] Sir Theodore Janssen of Wimbleton, Surrey, England. His daughter Barbara married Hon. Thomas Bladen, Governor of Maryland, 1742-1746, and his youngest daughter Mary, married Charles, Fifth Lord Baltimore.

[4] John Paul Heath of Annapolis, Md. He married Rebecca Dulany, the eldest daughter of Hon. Daniel Dulany, the elder.

[5] William Pulteney (1684-1764). An English statesman. He entered Parliament in 1705. On the accession of George I, he became Secretary of War, retiring in 1717. He was created Earl of Bath in 1742.

[6] Samuel Sandys, first Baron Sandys (1695?-1770). He entered the House of Commons for the City of Worcester in 1718, which he continued to represent until his promotion to the House of Lords in December 1743.

the Loss of the French very Considerable, but on the other Hand Marshal Bellisle [7] gives out his loss is very inconsiderable. Every one here is of opinion that the French have suffered very great Losses. I have sent you the Papers where Marshal Bellisle's Letter, the Account f^r^ Vienna, & the Articles of Capitulation are inserted att length. We had a very Long Passage & met with very bad weather, the ship has been arrived att London but 10 days. M^r^ Ogle [8] was very sea sick, but M^rs^ Ogle was scarce an Hour sick.

Sammy Chew [9] is now in London & in good health. M^r^ Hyde [10] desired me to look out for a school for him & (I hope) I have found out one that will suit him very well. The Master has the character of a very Sober & carefull man & the distance of the school from London is very Convenient (it is about 10 miles f^r^ London) & situated in a very good air. I shall have an opportunity of hearing of him frequently, as I shall see a Gentleman very often who has a Son att the same school.

Cap^t^ Loyd is taken by a Large Privateer after a very stout engagement, having killed 19 or 20 of the Enemy, but being overpowered with numbers, & having his first mate & Carpenter killed he was forced to submitt. The Reason I mentioned this

[7] Charles Louis Auguste Fouquet, Duke of Belle-Isle (1684-1761). A French Marshal and Politician. He shared with Broglie the command of the French forces in the war of the Austrian Succession and captured Prague Nov. 26, 1741; but was forced by the treaty of peace between Austria and Prussia at Breslau to retreat to Eger, December 17, 1742. He became commander in chief of the French Army in Italy in 1746, and was Minister of War from 1757 to his death.

[8] Hon. Samuel Ogle, Governor of Maryland, 1731-32, 1735-42, 1747-52. He married Ann Tasker, the eldest daughter of Hon. Benjamin Tasker, and Ann Bladen, his wife, and elder sister of Rebecca Tasker, the wife of Hon. Daniel Dulany, the younger.

[9] Samuel Chew, eldest son of Samuel Chew and Henrietta Maria Lloyd, his wife, who afterwards became the third wife of Hon. Daniel Dulany, the elder. Young Chew died early in life. His eldest sister Henrietta Maria married Hon. Edward Dorsey. His sister Margaret married Hon. John Beale Bordley, and his sister Mary married Hon. William Paca, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

[10] John Hyde of Kingston Lisle, Berks. He married Hon. Jane Calvert, daughter of Benedict, Fourth Lord Baltimore, and sister of Charles, Fifth Lord Baltimore.

is, because I know he was expected in Maryland when I was there. Capt Pigott & Anderson are not yet arrived here, but have been heard of in Ireland. Admiral Vernon [11] took his seat in the House of Commons last Tuesday, it is reported the Admiral is to be knighted for his Services. Mr & Mrs Ogle desire their Compliments. They are both in very good Health.

I will Follow your advice to the utmost of my Power which is the least I can do in return for so much indulgence. That this may find you well is The sincere wish & hearty Prayer of

your Ever Dutifull Son

D. Dulany.

Letter from the Temple, June 7th, 1745.

Honr

I have wrote to you several Letters wch tho Prior to this in Date (some of them) by some months wch may not probably reach you, before this does, thro the disappointments the merchants have met with In the Convoy they expect'd. Orders att least 2 or 3 months ago were given to the merchants to have their ships ready immediately to sail, & those that got ready according to those orders, have been detain'd here for want of Convoy till this time. I thought it quite necessary to mention this, (as I am inform'd some of the Ships (the Merchants being quite tired of so great delay) have sailed without Convoy, in order to remove any uneasiness you may have been

[11] Edward Vernon (1684-1757). British Admiral. He entered the Navy in 1700; served in the war of the Spanish Succession 1701-1713, and entered Parliament in 1722. He bombarded and took Puerto Bello in 1739, was repulsed before Cartagena in 1741.

Tobias George Smollet served in the Cartagena expedition as a Surgeon's mate and gives a graphic description of it in "Roderick Random," and in his "History of England."

Lawrence Washington, elder brother of General George Washington, who also participated in the expedition, regarded Admiral Vernon very highly and named his estate on the Potomac River, in Virginia, in his honor.

Innumerable medals were struck off in 1739, all showing Vernon's head, with the legend, "He took Puerto Bello with six ships."

One of the medals is in the possession of The Maryland Historical Society.

under att not hearing from me, if none of those Ships you have wrote by, have sailed with them.

As you are att so great a Distance f^rm the Grand Scene of Action, it is matter of Duty in me to transmitt to you as it may reasonably be imagin'd it is of Expectation to you, to hear f^m me, some Account of the most Interesting Events that have happen'^d here. I have sent you a Printed Account of the Action in the Mediterranean, & M^r Lestocks Justification w^h seems rather a Charge against M^r Matthews, than a proper Vindication of his own Conduct & if this Recrimination shou^d Prove true, it will only shew, that misconduct as well as Cowardice, or Treachery, Contributed to that most fatal miscarriage.

We have been Here in expectation f^m the great Vigour, the House of Commons showed in the Prosecution of their Enquiry, into the Cause of the miscarriage of our Fleet, in the Mediterranean that that affair wou^d, e'er now have been brought to a Conclusion; But notwithstanding the General Indignation, that miscarriage inspired all orders of men with, & the Rage of Resentment with w^h the whole nation was inflam'd, there is att Present a Dead Calm about it; as if e'vy other matter of publick Concern was absorb'd in this Event w^h I shall just mention to you, & refer you to the Magazines, I have sent you for a more Particular Account. There has lately been an Action between our Army under the Command of the Duke of Cumberland,[12] & General Königsegg, & the French near Tournay, w^h Place was besieg'd by the French, (& still holds out Thro' the Bravery of Baron Dort.) & in our Attempt to Raise the Siege, we met with a most severe Repulse. As I don't see the following Account of the Behaviour of some of the Dutch in the Magazines I have sent & as it is pretty extraordinary, I can't forbear giving you a Relation of it. A Party of Dutch

[12] William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (1721-1765). An English General, son of George II. He fought at Dettingen in 1743; commanded at Fontenoy in 1745; and at Culloden in 1746, was defeated at Lawfelt in 1747, and at Hastenbeck in 1757. The City of Cumberland, Md., is named after him.

Horse att the very beginning of the Action, were seis'd with such a Panick, that they with their Brave Commander att their Head (who to be sure knew his Station too well upon this occasion to be in the Rear) Fled to Mons when they ariv'd there, this Gallant officer not thinking himself so safe as he cou'd wish Chose another Rout, & leaving his men to take care of their own safety, made the Best of his way to Brussels, where he told them, that the whole Army was Cut to Pieces, thro' the Cowardice of the English, & that he alone escap'd to tell the news. This Account was transmitt'd to the Hague, where the Populace were so extremely incens'd, & exasperated against the English, that they Assembled in a most Tumultuous, & outragious manner, about My Lord Chesterfield's [13] House: (who was then our Ambassador att the Hague, but is since return'd) & it is more than Possible if this Account had not been very soon after Contradicted, his Lordship's safety, wou[d] have been extremely precarious. Notwithstanding this Dutchman's great Aversion to be so near the French, he was oblig'd to return to the Army, where he was tried by a Court Martial, & Broke with Infamy.

We are apprehensive that the Baltimore is taken, as the Charles who sail'd about the same time f[rm] Maryland and was in Company in the Channel has been arriv'd here, about 3 weeks & no news of the Baltimore.

I have not heard Lately f[r] Dennis, but saw a Gentleman about a month ago, who assur'd me, he saw him in good Health att Bristol. I suppose he is now on a Cruise. Sammy Chew is very well, & very much Grown, he desires to join with me, in my Duty to you, & his Mamma.

F[m] Dear Sir your

Most Affect[n] & Dutiful son D. Dulany.

A mail just this moment arrived f[rm] Holland w[h] brings the Following Accounts of an Action in Silesia, between the

[13] Philip Dormer Stanhope, fourth Earl of Chesterfield (1699-1773). An English politician, orator and writer, famous as a man of fashion. Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1744-1746.

Combin'd Armies of Prince Charles, & the Duke of Saxe Weissenfels, & the Prussians Commanded by the King in Person, we have not yet any Account of it publish'd here. But I will endeavour to give you as good an Account of it, as I can f^m^ the Dutch Mail. F^m^ Berlin June 8^th^ new stile The Austrian Army being Form'd by the Saxons were near 80,000 Strong, & had form'd a Design to Penetrate into Silesia by the Defiles thro' the mountains on the side, of Friedland, & Landeshut, their view seem'd to be, to Cut of our Communication f^rm^ the Rest of Lower Silesia, & even with Glogau, & so with Brandenbourgs to present this, his Prussian Majesty march'd to meet the Enemy, & the next day the engagement began. The Austrians Composed the Enemies right, & the Saxons the left wing. Our Right wing kept so incesscent a Fire on the Saxons, that they first gave way, & their Cavalry was broke into the greatest Confusion. The Engagement on the left & in the Center with the Austrians & Hungarians was more obstinate, the Austrians were several times broke, & as often rallied when the Right had continued thus, for about 5 Hours, that Part of the Enemy that was the most expos'd to the Terrible Fire of our Infantry, & Cannon gave way, our Grenadiers making the most of this Advantage by a Desperate & most vigorous Effort, broke them into the greatest disorder & Confusion. The Enemy being defeat'd, abandon'd the Field, we pursued them in their Flight, for an Hour & Half 'till they were got quite, into the mountains. The number of the Enemy that were found kill'd & wounded in the Field of Battle must be & moreover we have made 5000 Prisoners, with 6 Generals, 36 of distinction, have taken 60 pair of Colours, 10 Standards, 8 pair of Kettle Drums & 40 Pieces of Cannon. The Enemy left great Part of their Baggage behind them, Our Loss amounts to about 1200 men. So far is the Prussian Account.

F^m^ Leipsick June 9^th^ the following is the Duke of Saxe Weissenfels account of that Action w^h^ he sent to the King of Poland after having given a Description of the situation & disposition of the Armies w^h^ is pretty much the same, with the Prussian Account. he proceeded to this Effect. The Prussians

attack'd us with a great deal of Spirit, & we rec^{d} them with an adequate Firmness. The Engagement began about 4 in the morning & ended about 10, when our Cavalry by reason of the unevenness of the ground, retired with design to form again behind the Foot. The Left wing being by this weaken'd, & there being some Confusion among the Irregular Troops, & those about the Artillery it was thought Proper to make a retreat w^{h} we did with great order, & took possession of the Defiles of Schmiedeberg & Landeshut the Enemy making a kind of distant pursuit. Our Loss amounts to about 3 or 4000 men, & some Generals are missing; as to the Enemies Loss it must be at least equal if not superiour to ours, their Cavalry having been very roughly Handled.

If Cap^{t} Hargrave does not sail before the 9th I will send you our Gazette where you will have

Dear Watty

I write this Purely to Inform You of M^{r} Dorsey's [14] Death, who died last night at about 9 o'clock & to desire that you'll Communicate it in such a manner as may be the Least shocking to M^{rs} Dorsey for this Purpose I suppose the best way wou'd Be to Inform her mother of it, whose good sense and Prudence as well as best Acquaintance with the Temper and Disposition of her Daughter will suggest to her the best means.

M^{r} Dorsey's case had appear'd for a considerable Time past to be quite desperate to Every one but Himself But He had Hopes of recovering to the Last, & yesterday agreed for his Passage to New York by water. his Disorder being a genuine Consumption, his Decline was & his Death without any the Least apparent Pain. He had left his Room, but Little before He Expired, to go to supper. I Left Him sitting up in his Chair, then He walked to his Bed, undressed Himself,

[14] Hon. Edward Dorsey, lawyer, of Annapolis. Member of the Lower House of Assembly from Frederick County, Md., 1757-1760. He married Henrietta Maria Chew, eldest daughter of Samuel and Henrietta Maria (Lloyd) Chew. He died in Newport, R. I., in 1760, while on a trip to Boston for his health.

wound up his watch, & Laying his Head on the Pillow Expired Instantaneously.

This Event will keep me here Longer than I Intended to see to, & attend his Funeral, as well as to take Care of what He has Left. if I have an opportunity by water I intend to send Phil & the Portmanteau that way, & sell the Horses, or leave them with some Person here to be sold—the Expence of sending Horses so great a Distance by Land, & the Hazard of trusting to the Discretion of a negro who wou'd be his own Master, & must have money put into his Pocket to Defray the Charges of travelling, wou'd be, I think, too great, as I shall act in this melancholy affair for the best, I Hope it will meet with the satisfaction of his Friends. it seems that Funerals are celebrated here with much Expence, w^{ch} however I shall avoid as much as Decency will admit, The of which, being generally Local, Expect some Indulgence.

I have been the more Circumstantial in my Relation of M^{r} Dorsey's Dying, as it must without doubt be some Consolation to his Friends to hear that his death was as easy, as sinking into his usual Repose, & Let me add to this too that more Care cou'd not have been taken of him at Home, tho' He had not the Comfort of Haveing his nearest Relatives, about Him, w^{ch} yet his Resignation of Temper, or those delusive Hopes of Recovery w^{ch} usually attend Persons in Consumption, & those frequent & occasional Flashes of seeming Health made some Amends.

I am Dear Watty

Your affectionate Brot^{r}

Dan^{l} Dulany.

21st Sept. 1760.

Newport in Rhode Island.

1766.

D^{r} Brother,

There may be some Perplexity in the Expression, tho' I think my Ideas are clear. The Stamp Act proceeded upon the

peculiar Privilege of the Ho: of Commons, & according to our Acc^ts^ M^r^ Grenville [15] endeavour'd to support it by his Notion of *Virtual* Representation—after the Act took place, the Pamphlet generally attributed to M^r^ Grenville, called the Regulating of the Colonies, assumed the same principle of *Virtual* Representation; but after the Affair had been canvassed in America, all the subsequent writers both of Pamphlets & in Newspapers, dropped M^r^ Grenville's principle, & had recourse to that of the Supreme, unbounded, Legislative Authority of Parliament—what Topics were argued upon in Parliament, when the question concerning the Repeal came on I don't know, the account we have being only of M^r^ Pitt's [16] speech who ridiculed the Notion of *virtual* Representation & of M^r^ Grenville, who did not defend it, & true Protest of the Lords relates merely to the Sovereignty of Britain, & the Act w^ch^ I now send you, was founded in the same Manner. I mean by the term Advocates, all who were concerned as far as we know, in the Defence of the Stamp Act; for I never heard of any one after Grenville's Publication, who did not set up the Right to tax us by Act of Parliament on the foundation of the supreme, Legislative, Power, w^ch^ is lodged as well with the Lords as the Commons.

By the relative term *their* I mean the last Antecedent viz—two *advocates,* whoever they were that appeared in *Defence* of the Act, after the controversy began concerning the Legality of it; for the *Advocates* I speak of in a former Passage are those who changed the Ground of the Framer of it, & therefore cou'd not mean the Members of the Ho: of Commons who concurr'd

[15] George Grenville (1712-1770) An English statesman. He entered Parliament in 1741; became a Lord of the Admiralty in 1744; was a lord of the Treasury, 1747-1755. From October, 1761, to October, 1762, he was a leader of the House of Commons. He became premier in 1763, and retained the office until July, 1765. He opposed the repeal of the Stamp Act.

[16] William Pitt, Earl of Chatham (1708-1778). A famous English statesman and orator. He entered Parliament in 1735. Became Secretary of State in 1756, and leader of the House of Commons.

In the dispute with the American Colonies over the Stamp Act (1766) Pitt played a noble part, denounced the follies of Grenville and secured its repeal.

with the Framer upon his *own Ground,* in passing the Act, by the subsequent Acts, I mean the Act declaring the Dependency of the Colonies, & the Act imposing the Duty on Paper &c.

But yet after all, if the sense has not clearly appeared to yourself, it is not likely that it will clearly appear to others, & therefore it is certainly not well expressed—whether the word *Defenders* in the place of *Advocates* wou'd point out the Meaning better, I don't know—'tis probable that I carry with me some unexplained Idea, w^{ch} may give me a different view from what wou'd occur to a Reader, the introductory Part of the Piece was to shew, ex absurdo, that the Parliament of England cou'd not justly tax us; because no Principle to found such a tax upon can be maintained—that of Virtual Representation has I think been given up, not only in Pamphlets, but that the contrary is advanced in the Protest of the Lords, & the Acc^{t} to preserve the Dependency of the Colonies, & that the Consequence, respecting the Power of the Lords, w^{ch} can't be denied on the other Principle, being incompatible with all our Ideas of the English Constitution, shews an absurdity too glaring to be defended.

Again I must desire that the Paper magnet be sent, if there is anything obscure in it, or improper, and that you can't rectify to your own Satisfaction.

I am &c D. D.

Suppose some words to the follow^{g} Effect were to be thrown into a former Passage Viz. "For the Fiction (or whim) of *virtual* Representation was of a Texture too flimsy to withstand the Impression of an attack."

Jennings being with me, I was obliged to Keep your Boy.

Dear Watty,

My sister Hedges being extremely anxious to see me, I have made her a visit at Wilmington, & in my Return called at Newark, having been informed that the school there was in great Reputation. M^{r} Davidson the principal Master, has a most excellent character for Learning, decent Behaviour, &

other qualities. I determined to put Benny[17] under his Instructions & writ Him a Letter, therein offering him 20£s ℔ annum over, & above the usual Allowance for Board, & Instruction, with the view of engaging his particular Attention to Ben's Instruction. Davidson's Behaviour has been very honourable: for this Morning He paid me a visit here, being a time of a few Days vacation, & told me He cou'd not in Honour accept my Proposal because He had resolv'd, tho' He has not yet communicated his Resolution to any one, but Mr Hamilton & myself, to leave Newark, & go into orders upon the chance of being a Missionary.

I have heard Mr Addison say, He wou'd be glad to have a Curate to assist Him upon moderate terms, & especially one well qualified (as Davidson undoubtedly is) to instruct his children—whether He may not have alter'd his Mind I can't tell; but you can be informed by writing to Him. I have also understood that Brogden wants a Curate, & I believe that the free school in Prince George's wants a Master—can't you know this thro' Mr Murdock—if in neither of the above methods an encouragement can be given to him—cou'd He not be got into the free school at Annapolis, & a subscription be obtained that He might have a reasonable support—the Virginia Parson was to have come to Annapolis; but that is over—if everything else shou'd fail, might He not be sent upon the terms of a Reader to some vacant Parish. By all I have been able to collect concerning the Man's character, & what I have observed myself, I am very much induced to think that all who have sons to educate here have great Interest in his settling in Maryland.

My sister looks better than I ever saw her

I am Dr Watty Your affectionate Brothr

11th Octr 1767. D. D.

[17] Benjamin Tasker Dulany (1752-1816), the second son of Hon. Daniel Dulany, the younger. He married in 1773 Elizabeth French of Virginia, a ward of General Washington, who gave her away at her marriage.

[18] Rev. Henry Addison, M. A., ordained in England in 1742. Rector of St. John's Parish, Prince George's County, Md., for many years, and died in 1789 *aet.* 72. He married Rebecca Dulany, the second daughter of Daniel Dulany, the elder.

SOME EARLY COLONIAL MARYLANDERS

McHenry Howard

1. Reverend William Wilkinson, 1612-1663.

In the " Visitation of Berkshire, Vol. 2 [page 228], Harleian Society Publications, 1908, Volume 57," is a Pedigree of Wilkinson of Barnesly and Ealand, Yorkshire, England, ending in one line with Gabriel Wilkinson of Upper Winchingdon and Vicar of Bishop's Woobourne, Buckinghamshire, born 1576, died 17 December 1658, with children, Thomas, William, John, Margaret, Mary, John, Arthur, Richard, Matthew, Gabriel and Robert.

See also " The Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Association Record Series, Vol. 9, for the year 1890—Abstracts of Yorkshire Wills, xxxx, 1665, 1666," page 170.

Foster's " Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714 " has the following entries:

> " Wilkinson, Gabriel, of Yorksh., pleb. Merton College, matric. 25 Jan. 1593-4, aged 17, B. A. 1 Dec. 1597, M. A. 7 July 1603.
>
> (S. Thomas, of Eland, Yorksh.) Vicar of Wooburn, Bucks. 1614 until his death 17 Dec. 1658, father of Thomas and William 1626 and perhaps of John 1620. See Foster's Index Ecclesiasticus.
>
> Wilkinson, William, s. Gabriel, of Bishop Coburn, Bucks., sacerd. Magdalen Hall, matric. entry 9 June 1626, aged 14, B. A. 3 Feb. 1629-30, M. A. 25 Oct. 1632, brother of Thomas 1626."

In the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* Volume 4, page 201, also Volume 6, page 94, is an abstract of a grant of 700 acres of land, 20 November 1635, in Linhaven [Norfolk County] to William Wilkinson, minister, of which 50 acres was

for his personal adventure and 50 acres for the personal adventure of his Wife Naomy and the rest for the coming of other named persons among whom do not appear any Wilkinson children. There can be little doubt that he was the William Wilkinson, "sacerdos," of the Berkshire-Yorkshire pedigree and Alumni Oxonienses.

And there is little doubt it was the same William Wilkinson who came to Maryland in 1650. In the Land Office of Maryland at Annapolis, L. O. R. No. 3, page 62, is the following entry:

> "10 October 1650 Mr. William Wilkinson Clerk demandeth 900 acres for transportation of himself, his wife Mary, Rebecca and Elizabeth Wilkinson his Daughters and Elizabeth Budden her daughter; William Warren and Robert Cornish 2 men servants and Anne Stevens a woman servant into this Province this present year 1650. Warrant to lay out 900 acres for Mr. Wilkinson on Patuxent River or elsewhere within this Province on 1 February."

The same entry is in Liber A, B and H, page 49 (such repetitions are not uncommon), and it is printed in the MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Volume 8, page 266. An apparent ambiguity as to William Wilkinson's wife and daughters is removed by the acreage, the "Conditions of Plantation" being then 100 acres for each person; so the demand was for

Himself	100 acres
His wife (unnamed)	100 "
His 3 children, Mary, Rebecca, and Elizabeth	300 "
Her daughter Margaret Budden by a former husband	100 "
3 servants	300 "
	900 acres

And if the same William Wilkinson to whom the land was patented in Virginia in 1635, he had had since then 3 children, his wife, Naomy, had died, and he had married again—a Mrs.

Budden. In Land Office Record No. 4, page 5, there is another demand of William Wilkinson, Clerk, for land for transporting 11 named persons in 1652.

In the "Day-Star of American Freedom, By George Lynn-Lachlan Davis" (Commissioner of the Land Office 1868), pages 153, 155, there is an account, from the *Maryland Archives,* of the trial of Mr. Wilkinson in 1659 for uniting in marriage a man and a woman when the man had a wife living, an act of which Mr. Davis under the circumstances perhaps speaks too extenuatingly. At his first arraignment he objected to the jury selected as being a very "weak" one and claimed to be tried by a Protestant jury, an objection which the Governor thought reasonable and postponed the trial, himself going on Mr. Wilkinson's bail bond. A few days after his second arraignment he was freed under a general pardon which followed the accession of Richard Cromwell in England. (See also *Archives of Maryland,* Provincial Court of Maryland Records Mar. 1658-Nov. 1662 [original], pages 185, 191, 200, 201.) Mr. Wilkinson was living in St. George's Hundred, St. Mary's County, and Mr. Davis says (page 146) that he was also a planter and engaged in trade. The emoluments of a Protestant Minister in Maryland in those early days, before the formation of Protestant Parishes must have been small and uncertain. He is said to have been the first Protestant Minister settled in the Province. (Day-Star, page 145.) In the *Archives,* Vol. 10, p. 311, he had rendered an account on 6 Feb. 1653 against the estate of John Stringer, who had died at his house, charging for a "funerall Sermon, a funeral Dinner, a plank for his Coffin" &c.

For some further account of the Reverend William Wilkinson, see "One Hundred Years Ago; By Elizabeth Hesselius Murray, 1895," page 15.

He died between 8 July 1663, date of an unsigned "postscript" to his Will, and 21 September, date of its probate. In this Will (recorded in Wills, Liber No. 1 page 190, now in the Land Office, Annapolis, to which, by Act of Assembly some

years ago, these Testamentary Records of the old Colonial Prerogative Office were removed from the Office of the Register of Wills of Anne Arundel County, and an abstract of which Will is in Baldwin's *Calendar of Maryland Wills,* Volume 1, page 26), after devising personal property to Elizabeth Budden, daughter of Margaret Budden, " my last wife," and to 2 Dent and Hatton grandchildren, he devises ½ of the residue of his estate to his son in law Thomas Dent and Rebecca his wife and the other ½ to his son in law William Hatton and Elizabeth his wife. It appears, therefore, that since his coming to Maryland, his last wife, Margaret (Budden) and his daughter Mary had died. And no son being mentioned it seems that other Wilkinsons in Maryland are not descended from him.

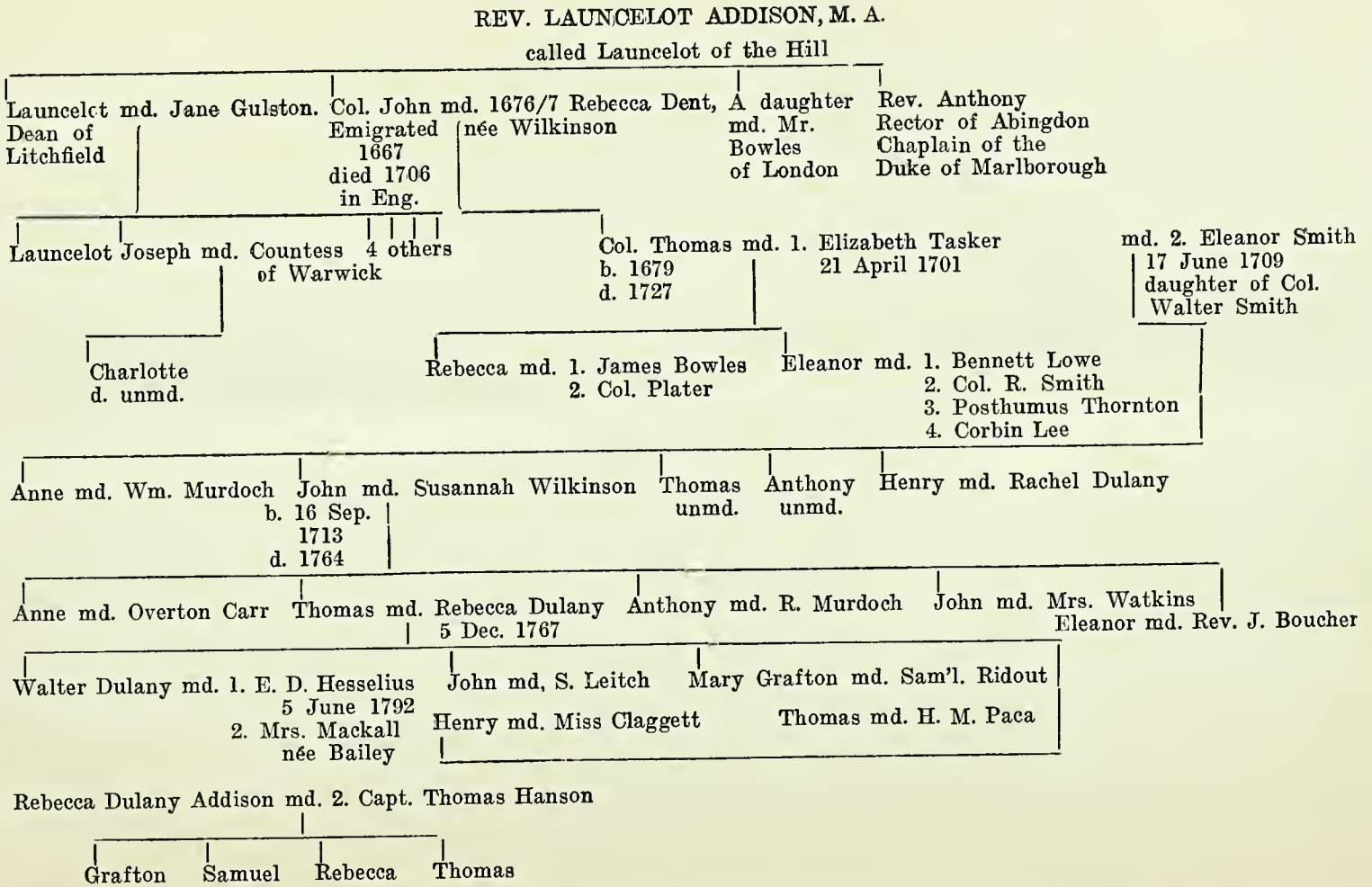
Thomas Dent died between 28 March and 21 April 1676, (date and probate of his Will, 1 Baldwin, page 169), and his widow, Rebecca, married (Colonel) John Addison; she had children by both her husbands.

A seal of the Reverend William Wilkinson, or a Will in England of the Reverend Gabriel Wilkinson or others, would probably identify him with the Yorkshire family—whose arms were, Gules, a fess vair, a unicorn cursant in chief or, within a bordure engrailed of the last egressed.

A deposition of William Wilkinson on 1 May 1652 (*Arch.* 10, p. 174), stating that he is " aged fifty years or thereabouts," and another on 13 April 1657 (page 552), stating that he is " aged fiftie yeares or thereabouts," are somewhat discrepant from each other and from the age in Oxford Alumnienses, but such statements of age prefixed to depositions are not material and were probably intended to identify the deponent in the community and to show that he was of capacity to depose.

2. Colonel John Addison, 16 -1707, and some descendants.

In her book, " One Hundred Years Ago, the Life and Times of the Reverend Walter Dulany Addison 1769-1848; By Elizabeth Hesselius Murray, 1895," an Addison pedigree is given as follows:


REV. LAUNCELOT ADDISON, M. A.
called Launcelot of the Hill
Launcelot md. Jane Gulston. Dean of Litchfield
Col. John md. 1676/7 Rebecca Dent, née Wilkinson Emigrated 1667 died 1706 in Eng.
A daughter md. Mr. Bowles of London
Rev. Anthony Rector of Abingdon Chaplain of the Duke of Marlborough
Launcelot
Joseph md. Countess of Warwick
4 others
Col. Thomas md. 1. Elizabeth Tasker 21 April 1701 b. 1679 d. 1727
md. 2. Eleanor Smith 17 June 1709 daughter of Col. Walter Smith
Charlotte d. unmd.
Rebecca md. 1. James Bowles 2. Col. Plater
Eleanor md. 1. Bennett Lowe 2. Col. R. Smith 3. Posthumus Thornton 4. Corbin Lee
Anne md. Wm. Murdoch
John md. b. 16 Sep. 1713 d. 1764
Susannah Wilkinson
Thomas unmd.
Anthony unmd.
Henry md. Rachel Dulany
Anne md. Overton Carr
Thomas md. Rebecca Dulany 5 Dec. 1767
Anthony md. R. Murdoch
John md. Mrs. Watkins
Eleanor md. Rev. J. Boucher
Walter Dulany md. 1. E. D. Hesselius 5 June 1792 2. Mrs. Mackall née Bailey
John md, S. Leitch
Henry md. Miss Claggett
Mary Grafton md. Sam'l. Ridout
Thomas md. H. M. Paca
Rebecca Dulany Addison md. 2. Capt. Thomas Hanson
Grafton
Samuel
Rebecca
Thomas

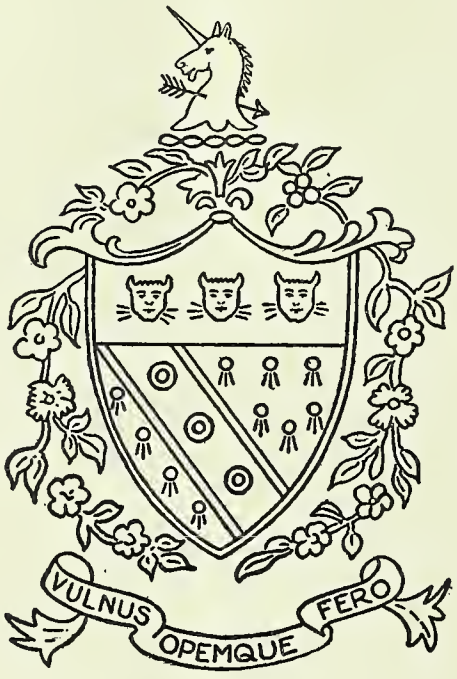
Miss Murray—who was one of the descendants—says on page 13 of her book that Col. John Addison:

> " Came to this country from England in the year 1667. He was brother to Launcelot Addison, Dean of Litchfield —father of the celebrated Joseph Addison. He also had a brother Anthony, Rector of Abingdon and Chaplain to the Duke of Marlborough. In an old note book of his grandson (the Reverend Henry Addison), which he kept while in England, is the following entry: ' St. Helen's Church at Abingdon [Berkshire] is a spacious and handsome building in the Gothic style and decently ornamented. My great uncle Anthony Addison B. D., Rector of this Church, died in 1719 and lies buried here under the altar.' His brother Launcelot [1] is buried in the Cathedral of Litchfield. Over a door is to be seen the Addison arms, together with that of a noble lady who gave the money to restore the Cathedral. Mr. Boucher in an article written for the Historia Cumbriensis tells us that he has seen, while in Maryland, sundry letters in the possession of Rev. Henry Addison, from Joseph Addison to his ancestor in which were frequent allusions to their being of one family. Mr. Boucher goes on to say, ' That branch which went to Maryland became of note and still are so. They possess a noble estate on the banks of the Potomac opposite Alexandria and contiguous to the new Federal City. The family has long been distinguished for their strong sense, fine taste and humour and exquisite style in writing.' "

On page 195 Miss Murray gives a copy of the " Addison Arms from an old Tankard," but, unfortunately, she does not give the hall marks, one of which would be the date letter. I interpret these arms heraldically: Ermine, on a bend 3 annulets, on a chief 3 leopards faces. [Tinctures not shown.] Crest, a unicorn's head erased, pierced through the neck by an arrow in bend dexter. Motto, Vulnus Opemque Fero. The motto,

[1] Father of the celebrated Joseph Addison.

"I carry a wound (or weapon) and a remedy" refers to a superstition of the Middle Ages that the horn of the unicorn was both an offensive weapon and had also a valuable remedial quality.



Miss Murray's book being written from old Addison and Dulany letters and family records, most of which may not now be in existence or accessible, its statements may properly be accepted; and there is corroboration. I have given the above extracts in full because the book is not now readily found.

I have not seen a description of the arms in Lichfield Cathedral, but in Berry's *Encyclopaedia Heraldica,* Vol. 2, are Addison Arms: "Ermine, on a bend gules 3 annulets or [?], on a chief azure 3 leopards heads of the third"; and in "Westmorland Church Notes, By Edward Bellasis," after several Addisons in Morland Parish, there is on page 192 a description of a monument in the South transept of the Church to Robert Addison Esqre of Crossrig Hall, son of Christopher and Elizabeth Addison of Wickerfield in this Parish, born 13 October 1775,

died 6 April 1862, with arms, "Ermine, on a bend gules 3 annulets argent, on a chief azure 3 leopards' faces of the third: Crest a unicorn's head erased transfixed by an arrow in bend sinister. Motto, Esto quod esse videris." [Mottoes were often assumed or changed at the pleasure of the user.]

That Colonel John Addison was from Cumberlandshire, England, further appears from letters from the Reverend Jonathan Boucher, who married his great-granddaughter, and who was himself a native of Cumberland, published in the MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. In Volume 8, page 41, he writes on 25 July 1769 from Maryland to the Rev. Mr. James in Cumberland of the desire of the Reverend Henry Addison, grandson of Col. John Addison, that a Curate be sent over to him from England, and says that he is so prejudiced in favor of Cumberland "where his ancestors came from that he will have none but a Northern lad"; and on page 179, in writing on 10 July 1772 of his own recent marriage to a niece of the Reverend Henry Addison, he says, "whose ancestors were from Cumberland."

The first mention of John Addison in Maryland records (that I have seen) is in the *Archives of Maryland,* Proceedings of the Council 1667-1687/8 (Vol. 5, page 334 et seq.), in a proceeding by Christopher Rousby, the King's Collector of Customs, against the master of a vessel for an alleged importation of goods in violation of the strict letter of the law, in St. George's River, St. Mary's County, in March 1777/8, and from which John Addison seems to be then engaged in merchandizing, and perhaps then coming to Maryland.

In the same Archives (Vol. 7, page 94) his name appears in an Act passed October-November Session 1678 as one to whom tobacco (money) is due in the late expedition against the Nanticoke Indians and other charges of the Province, but the particular services or credits of the very many persons named are not stated. And, page 610, by an Act passed in October-November Session 1683 he was appointed one of Commissioners to lay out Ports, Towns and other places in St. Mary's County.

On 22 September 1687 he was appointed a "puny" (puisné) Justice for Charles County, to which he had at some time removed from St. Mary's. (*Arch.* 5, p. 565.) He was reappointed Justice for Charles Co. 4 Sep. 1689. (*Arch.* 13, p. 243.)

In 1689 he was appointed Captain of Foot in the upper parts of Charles County and "Newscotland." (*Arch.* 13, page 243.) And by the same Act, page 247, he was appointed one of a Committee for the whole Province for the allotting, laying and assessing the public levy of the Province.

In March 1688/9 he is rather conspicuous in a wild Indian and French scare, partly as an alarmist and partly with credit to his better judgment. (*Arch.* 8, p. 74 et seq.)

On page 138 of the same Volume he is a signer of the Congratulatory Address on 28 November 1689 of the Protestants of Charles County to William and Mary on their accession to the throne.

In the disturbed and disorganized condition of Maryland in 1690 he was named on several important commissions (same volume, pages 199, &c.), and on 16 April 1691 he was commissioned one of a Special Court for the trial of the accused murderers of John Paine, the royal Collector for Patuxent District—whose death had caused great political excitement in Maryland and had drawn attention in England. Pages 242 et seq.

On 26 August 1691 the British King and Queen, William and Mary, then ruling the Province directly—Lord Baltimore's authority having been set aside—appointed John Addison one of the Council of Maryland (same volume, page 271), and he continued a Member of the Council until his death, his presence at meetings being many times noted; and on 8 April 1692 he was commissioned a Justice of the Provincial Court—the highest Court in Maryland. (Page 307.)

On 30 May 1692 he was appointed by the Governor and Council one of several Commissioners to hold a special Court of Oyer and Terminer for the trial of the master of a vessel in

St. Mary's River accused of illegally entering goods. (*Arch.* 13, p. 320.)

On page 433 of Proceedings of the Council 1687/8-1693 (Vol. 8) he is abusively called, in a letter brought to the attention of the Council 21 December 1692, "a new Castle Factor," which may indicate a business connection with that town in England. To speak disrespectfully of a Member of the Council was a serious offence. In the early Council Proceedings there is a complaint of a Member that he has been elected a Vestryman and asking if it is not an indignity to a Member of the Council; and the Council says that it is and orders the election to be annulled.

On page 109 of Proceedings of the Council 1693-1696/7 (*Arch.* Vol. 20) he is mentioned on 30 July 1694 as being Captain of a Troop of Horse, but on the same day, page 130, he was commissioned Colonel of Charles County. And on 17 August 1695, page 281, he was commissioned Colonel of Prince George's County, recently formed, being taken chiefly from Charles County.

In July 1696 he was by Act of Assembly appointed one of the first Trustees of King William's School, to be founded at Annapolis, afterwards St. John's College. (*Arch.* 19, p. 421, and *Arch.* 38, p. 27.) And by an Act passed in June 1697 he and another were appointed to hear and determine all differences, quarrels and controversies between the Indian Nations of Ackocick, Nanjemoy, Pomunky and Piscattoway and those that inhabit within Charles and Prince George's Counties and the English inhabitants thereunto adjacent. (*Arch.* 38, p. 104.)

He was living in June 1705 (*Arch.* 25, p. 190), but on 10 June 1707 Governor Seymour writes to the Board of Trade in London that Colonel John Addison and two other Members of her Majesty's Council in Maryland have died since the last appointment (page 265). He is said to have gone to England on a visit and to have died there. No Will appears at Annapolis.

Colonel Addison's activities in the offices and employments

referred to above are very frequently mentioned in the *Archives,* and especially in connection with operations against and dealings with the Indians, his residence in Charles and Prince George's Counties being on or near the then frontier of the settled Province. After the Protestant Revolution of 1689 he was one of the leading Protestants of Maryland, and to the Protestant Episcopal Church the Addison family has been strongly attached ever since.

He married—Miss Murray says in 1677—Rebecca, widow of Thomas Dent (who died in 1676—1 Baldwin's *Calendar of Maryland Wills,* page 169—and by whom she had several children) and daughter of the Reverend William Wilkinson of St. Mary's County, who came to Maryland with his wife and three daughters in 1650 and is said to have been the first Protestant clergyman to settle in the Colony. (Davis's *Day Star,* pages 145, 204.)

Mrs. Addison survived until between 1724 and 1726 and by her Will, dated 5 November 1724, proved 20 August 1726 and recorded in the old Prerogative Office, Annapolis, in Liber W. D. No. 1 page 520, now in the Land Office, devises 20 lbs. sterling to her son Thomas Addison and the rest of her estate to her daughter Barbara (Dent) Brooke and her children.

Colonel Thomas Addison, who appears to have been the only child of Colonel John and Rebecca (Wilkinson) Addison, was born about 1679. His life activities were much like those of his father. The first mention I have found of him in the printed *Maryland Archives* is his appointment by the Governor and Council on 15 May 1696 as Surveyor of Prince George's County. (*Arch.* 20, p. 425.)

On 15 October 1697 he was made Deputy to the Naval Officer of Potomac District. (*Arch.* 23, p. 253.)

On 24 May 1705 he was appointed or nominated one of Commissioners to go North and treat with the Seneca Indians. (*Arch.* 26, p. 468.) These appointments were in the life-time of his father.

Colonel Thomas Addison was appointed by Queen Anne—

the Province being then under Royal Government—a Member of the Council of Maryland, his Commission being dated in London 15 January 1708/9, and he took his seat 27 October 1710. (*Arch.* 27, p. 496.) In his attendance thereafter he generally appears for some years as Lieutenant Colonel, having been so appointed at some time before, but after 1714 he is styled Colonel and was, no doubt, Colonel of Prince George's County, as his father had been.

On page 320 of Proceedings of the Council 1698-1731 (*Arch.* 25, p. 320) (between which years the Council records are very defective) he is mentioned as a Judge of the Provincial Court in 1715; and he was holding the same Office 26 July 1726. (*Arch.* 35, p. 557.)

By an Act of Assembly passed in 1718 Colonel Thomas Addison was one of Commissioners to settle disputes about the boundaries of Lots in Annapolis, the Plat of which had been destroyed in the burning of the State House in 1704. (*Arch.* 33, p. 291.)

Under an Act passed in 1715 (*Arch.* 30, p. 252) to facilitate the ascertaining and settling the bounds of lands in the several Counties, Colonel Addison had been appointed one of the 5 Commissioners for Prince George's County, and in April 1720 a complaint was made against him of partiality in the exercise of his duties, an accusation which he resented so much that on an angry impulse he tendered a resignation of all his offices. And perhaps in the same connection, Daniel Dulany, then in the beginning of his distinguished career in the Province, calls him "a Little Rascalous Fellow." (*Arch.* 33, pp. 504, 508, 512, 591.) But the matter seems to have been soon dropped.[2]

In 1 Harris and McHenry's *Maryland Law Reports,* page 199, he is mentioned as being Surveyor for the Western Shore in 1723.

The Proceedings of the Assembly and of the Council show a very frequent attendance of Colonel Addison down to 1726 and doubtless he continued a Member of the Council until his death.

[2] Subsequently the Addison and Dulany families were closely connected by several marriages.

The regrettable missing parts of the Council record, the most interesting series of the *Archives,* would give more information about him.

Miss Murray—herself a descendant and in possession of old Addison records and papers—says that he increased the large estate inherited from his father, and that he died in 1727. His Will, dated 9 April 1722, with a Codicil dated 2 November 1725, was proved 28 June 1727 and was recorded in the old Prerogative Office, Annapolis, in Liber , now in the Land Office, but I have not an abstract and do not remember its provisions.

Colonel Thomas Addison was twice married. The Register of St. John's or Piscataway Parish, Prince George's County (a copy of which is in the Maryland Historical Society), has the following entries, on page 264 of the copy:

" Thomas Addison, aged above Twenty two years
Honorable Coll. John Addison and Elizabeth aged 15 years of Thos. Tasker Esq^{r} was Joined in Holy Matrimony upon Tuesday the 21^{o} of April anoq. 1701. Their children ffollows—

Rebeckah Addison was Borne on Monday the 3^{d} day of Jan^{y} Annoq 1703 about Eleven a clock in the Morning.

Elinor Addison was Born on Wensday the 20th of March Annoq. 1705 about halfe an hour after 9 a Clock in the Morning.

Eliz^{a} The Mother of These Children Departed This Life the 10th Day of ffebruary Annoq. 1706.

The Hon^{rble} Coll^{o} Thomas Addison and Elinor Smith Second Daughter of Coll^{o} Walter Smith of Patuxant River aged about 19 years was Joyned in Holy Matrimony The 17th Day of June Anno 1709.

Ann Daughter to the above Thomas & Elinor was Borne on Munday the 18th Day of ffebruary about two a Clock in the morning, 1711/12.

John Addison son of the above Thomas and Elinor was born on

Wednesday the 16th of September 1713 at Three a Clock in the Morning.

Thomas Addison, son of the above Thomas and Elinor was Borne Thursday the 26th of May 1715 at Twelve a Clock."

The foregoing entries were evidently put on the Parish Register at some time or times after the events—as was not uncommon—and they were probably made by Colonel Thomas Addison himself, or at his instance. The two blank spaces in the entry of the first marriage indicate torn places or other obliteration in the original and doubtless should be filled in with " son of the " and " daughter," respectively. And there were two other children of Colonel Thomas and Elinor (Smith) Addison born after the above Parish entries, Anthony and (the Reverend) Henry Addison.

After Colonel Thomas Addison the family does not appear prominently in political life, but it continued influential and prosperous. Of the Reverend Henry Addison (youngest?) son of Colonel Thomas and Elinor (Smith) Addison, something has been incidentally written in the first part of this article. He was a graduate of Queen's College, Oxford University, England, and Foster's " Alumni Oxfordienses 1715-1886 " has the following:

> " Addison, Henry, s. Thomas, of Mary Land, arm. Queen's Coll. matric. 3 March 1734-5, aged 16, B. A. 1738, M. A. 1741."

He was ordained in the Church of England (Protestant Episcopal) and became Rector of King George's " alias St. John's," commonly called Piscataway or Broad Creek Parish in Prince George's County, Maryland, and so continued from 1751 or before (*Arch.* 28, p. 512) until his death in 1789. He married Rachel, daughter of Daniel Dulany, the first of that distinguished family in Maryland, and widow of William Knight.

The Reverend Henry Addison was warmly interested in efforts in 1766, 1769 and 1770 to have an American Episcopacy

established for the Church. ("One Hundred Years Ago," page 30 et seq. and *Arch.* Vol. 32, p. 379 et seq.)

He went to England at or about the beginning of the Revolutionary War and stayed there until its close. The Reverend Jonathan Boucher, some of whose letters have been quoted from and who had married his niece, writes from London 8 January 1776 to his friend the Reverend John James, in Cumberland: "I am not sure that I shall not, next week, go down to Oxford with Mr. Addison, about to carry his son thither, to Queen's." (*Md. Hist. Mag.* Vol. 8, p. 347.) And on page 349 Mr. Boucher writes from Paddington (London) to the same on 5 March 1776: "My friend Mr. Addison & myself purpose taking our Staves & Scrips in our Hands about May & setting out on a Pilgrimage over the Kingdom, for which, I fear, we shall have abundant Time before we can think of returning to our People in the other Hemisphere." But on 28 April 1776 he writes: "My friend Mr. Addison is just about leaving us for the Summer. He sets off in great State, with a pair of Clever Geldings & a Servt. He goes from hence to his Friends the Simpsons in Hampshire & to Oxford & Bath & from thence will make a large Tour thro' this Kingdom, Ireland & Scotland. He presses Me to meet Him at your House about November next." (*Magazine,* Vol. 9, page 57.)

While so absent in England he was presented for High Treason at the May Term 1781 of the General Court of the Western Shore of Maryland, but the action was struck off at the May Term 1782. (*Magazine,* Vol. 4, page 288.) But his tangible property was probably confiscated. He returned from England to his Maryland Parish after the war and died—Miss Murray says in 1789. ("One Hundred Years Ago," page 131.)

A few lines may be well here added to what has been said about the Reverend Jonathan Boucher who married Eleanor Addison, daughter of John Addison, eldest son of Colonel Thomas Addison. He was a native of Cumberland, England, and first came to Virginia as a tutor in 1759. Going to England for ordination in 1762, he had successively two Parishes in

Virginia and in 1770 removed to Maryland, where he was Rector of St. Anne's Church, Annapolis. He warmly adhered to the side of the mother country in the Revolution and at its beginning intrepidly preached with loaded pistols on the pulpit cushion, in his farewell sermon proclaiming, "God save the King!" ("One Hundred Years Ago," page 46 et seq. and *Md. Hist. Mag.* Vol. 8, page 243.) He went to England in September 1775 and never returned. In 1797 he wrote a book about the American Revolution and, although their former friendly relations had been broken off, dedicated it—and not ironically—to General Washington, who made a courteous acknowledgment. ("One Hundred Years Ago," page 49; *Mag.* Vol. 10, page 123.)

He was a man of good character and abilities and literary attainments, strong in his convictions and vigorous in upholding them. A sketch of his life will be found on page 1 of Vol. 7 of the *Md. Hist. Magazine,* prefixed to the publication of his letters. See also Bishop Meade's "Old Churches and Families of Virginia," article XXXVII.

The Reverend Walter Dulany Addison, 1769-1848, son of Thomas (and Rebecca Dulany) Addison, son of John Addison, eldest son of Colonel Thomas Addison, is the chief subject of Miss Murray's book.

Miss Elizabeth Hesselius Murray, of West River, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, was the daughter of Alexander Murray and his first wife Mary Young Addison, the daughter of the Reverend Walter Dulany Addison and Elizabeth D. Hesselius, his first wife, daughter of John Hesselius, the well-known Maryland portrait painter. Miss Murray died some years ago.

Oxon Hill, the Colonial home of the Addisons, probably named from Oxford University, at the mouth of Broad Creek into the Potomac about ten miles below Washington, was destroyed by fire 6 February 1895. But it had passed out of the family in the time of the Reverend Walter Dulany Addison.

NOTES

Tabular views of Universal history, compiled by George Palmer Putnam, and continued to date under the editorial supervision of George Haven Putnam. Peace Conference edition. New York, 1919. $2.50.

The revision of this standard work maintains the standards of its predecessors and it is unquestionably one of the most important "desk tools" for literary workers. Arranged in parallel columns, it shows at a glance what characters and what events were contemporaneous with each other, as well as the date of each. The sections dealing with the chronology of the Great War, 1914-1919 and the Armistice period, 1918-1919, are particularly valuable.

The work is ably edited and well indexed.

The following bibliography of articles on the history of Catonsville by one of its former residents will doubtless be of interest to many readers of the *Magazine.* It is to be regretted that they have not been printed or reprinted in some more permanent form as most of the material therein contained is inaccessible in any other form, and it represents the expenditure of much time and labor—a veritable labor of love. We hope to secure at least some of the biographical sketches for republication in the *Magazine* at an early date.

Catonsville Articles

BY

George C. Keidel

1. *The Lutheran Observer* (Lancaster and Philadelphia, Pa.), Vol. LXVI, no. 5 (Feb. 4, 1898), p. 5, cols. 1-2: George C. Keidel, *A Typical Language Problem: Its Solution at Catonsville, Md.*
2. *The Argus* (Catonsville, Md.), Vol. XVI, no. — (July 2, 1898), p. 4, col. —: *Field Day at Catonsville.* [By George C. Keidel]

3. *The Baltimore News* (Baltimore, Md.), Vol. LII, no. 45 (June 25, 1898), p. 5, col. 3: *Field Day at Catonsville.* [By George C. Keidel]
4. *The World* (Baltimore, Md.), Vol. 9, no. 214 (June 30, 1898), p. 6, col. 1: *Club Formed at Catonsville Working Hard.* [By George C. Keidel]
5. *The Baltimore News* (Baltimore, Md.), Vol. LII, no. 51 (July 2, 1898), p. 9, col. 3: *Field Day at Catonsville.* [By George C. Keidel]
6. *The Baltimore News* (Baltimore, Md.), Vol. LII, no. 53 (July 6, 1898), p. 5, col. 1: [*Plays at the Catonsville Country Club*]. [By George C. Keidel]
7. *Ellicott City Times* (Ellicott City, Md.), Vol. XXX, no. 38 (Sept. 23, 1899), p. 3, col. 1: *Semi-Centennial.* [By George C. Keidel]
8. *The Argus* (Catonsville, Md.), Vol. XVIII, no. 2 (Sept. 30, 1899), p. —, cols. —: *Golden Jubilee of Salem Church.* [By George C. Keidel]
9. *Baltimore Morning Herald* (Baltimore, Md.), Vol. —, no. — (Oct. 2, 1899), p. 7, col. 2: *Golden Jubilee.* [Dictated by George C. Keidel to a reporter on Oct. 1, 1899]
10. *The Lutheran Observer* (Lancaster and Philadelphia, Pa.), Vol. LXVII, no. 42 (Oct. 20, 1899), p. 6, col. 1–p. 7, col. 1: *After Fifty Years.* (Portrait and illustration). [By George C. Keidel]
11. *The Lutheran Observer* (Lancaster and Philadelphia, Pa.), Vol. LXVIII, no. — (Dec. —, 1900), p. —, col. —: *Rev. Geo. W. Ebeling.* [Recast from article by George C. Keidel]
12. *The Argus* (Catonsville, Md.), Vol. XX, no. — (May 18, 1901), p. —, col. —: *Church Festival.* [By George C. Keidel]
13. *Baltimore American* (Baltimore, Md.), Vol. CXCI, no. 34824 (Sept. 26, 1901), p. 12, col. 4: *Dr. Ebeling Dies at Catonsville.* [By George C. Keidel]
14. *Baltimore Morning Herald* (Baltimore, Md.), no. 8332 (Sept. 26, 1901), p. 11, cols. 1-2: *Rev. Dr. Ebeling's Busy Life Peacefully Closes.* (With Portrait). [Adapted from an article by George C. Keidel]
15. *The Sun* (Baltimore, Md.), Vol. CXXIX, no. 114 (Sept. 26, 1901), p. 7, col. 3: *Rev. George W. Ebeling Dies at His*

Home in Catonsville. [Adapted from an article by George C. Keidel]

16. *The Lutheran Evangelist* (Washington, D. C.), Vol. xxv, no. 40 (Oct. 4, 1901), p. 5, cols. 2-3: ——? [Adapted from an article by George C. Keidel]
17. *The Argus* (Catonsville, Md.), Vol. xxi, no. 2 (Oct. 5, 1901), p. —, col. —: George C. Keidel, *Tribute to Rev. Geo. W. Ebeling, Ph. D.* (?)
18. *The Argus* (Catonsville, Md.), Vol. xxxi, no. 15-31 (Jan. 6–April 27, 1912), Vol. xxxii, nos. 11-28 (Dec. 7, 1912–April 5, 1913): George C. Keidel, *The Colonial History of Catonsville, A Series of Articles.* Nos. 1-35.
19. *The Argus* (Catonsville, Md.), Vol. xxxiii, no. 4 (Oct. 18, 1913), p. 3, col. 5: *A Catonsville Confederate: Incidents in the Life of Herman F. Keidel,* by his nephew George C. Keidel.
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21. *The Argus* (Catonsville, Md.), Vol. xxxiv, nos. 43-52 (July 17–Sept. 18, 1915), Vol. xxxv, nos. 1-6, 8, 9 (Sept. 25–Oct. 31, Nov. 13, 20, 1915): George C. Keidel, *Catonsville Biographies* (Rev. L. Van Bokkelen, D. D., LL. D.; Rev. Geo. W. Ebeling, Ph. D.; Dr. Adalbert J. Volck). 19 articles.
22. *The Automobile Club of Philadelphia Monthly Bulletin,* Vol. x (1918), pp. 28-30: G.[eorge] C. K.[eidel]. *Observations on the National Road West of Baltimore.* [Recast by Robert Bruce]
23. *The National Genealogical Society Quarterly* (Washington, D. C.), Vol. vii, no. 2 (July, 1918), p. 25, cols. 1-2: George C. Keidel, *The Pierpont Burying Ground at Catonsville, Baltimore Co., Md.*
24. *The Catonsville Lutheran Church, A Sketch of its Origin,* by George C. Keidel, Ph. D., formerly Secretary of the Church Council, late Associate in the Johns Hopkins University, Language expert in the Library of Congress. Washington, D. C., Privately printed, 1919. 8vo., ii, 12 pp.

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